ARCHÆOLOGIÆ

ATTICÆ

LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEVEN BOOKS OF THE ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING

The deſcription of the Cities glory, government, diviſion of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superſtition, Sacrifices, Account of their Yeare, a full relation of their Judicatories. By *FRANCIS ROUS* Scholar of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxon.*

With an Addition of their Cuſtomes in Marriages, Burials, Feaſtings, Divinations, &c. in the foure laſt Books. By *ZACHARY BOGAN*, Scholar of *C. C. C.* in *Oxon.*

The Sixt Edition Corrected and Enlarged, with a twofold Index, *Rerum* & *Vocabulorum.*

Ariſt. Περιστιλωθέσι τὰς ἀκμὰς, ἐπιχόμενα, μᾶζον ἔχοντες ἴσχυν, ὁ, πρωλαξόμενα ἢ ἔτυ χεισόμενα, ἐωρῶν.

OXFORD,
Printed by *William Hall* for *John Adams*, and *Edward Forreſt.* 1667.

TO THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL

Sr NATHANIEL BRENT Knight,
Vicar Generall, and the most vigilant
Warden *of* Merton Colledge
in OXFORD, *Health,*
&c.

IT is the custome of most, to impose a patronage of their errours upon some eminent person. But it shall be my ambition in this my Dedication to manifest my observancie. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to shun the darts of envy: it shall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency; whose ignorance is not so great but well

knowes that ever ſome will bite in ſecret; & ſcourge theſe errours of my youth with private reproaches. But ſuch malignant tongues I will counterpoiſe with the winde, and ſet as lightly by as they are vaine. And although I am confidently perſwaded that the covert of your wings bee ſufficiently able to ſhelter my faults; yet had I rather to expreſſe my duty towards you in theſe naked infirmities, whoſe goodneſſe truly knowes how * to pardon the bold adventures of Learning. I preſent you therefore with *Athens*, whoſe deplorable raggedneſſe my papers well reſemble: which may challenge this excuſe, that they aſſimulate themſelves to the Treatiſe in them contained; Which of all men, I my ſelfe am conſcious moſt unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurſe of reaſon; * which floriſhed in eloquence, & brave atchievements more then all *Greece*, could not, unleſſe in her miſerable ruines, have without her diſgrace been ſpoken of by me. That *Athens* whence the learned Fathers of the Church ſuckt rare literature, *Baſil* his eloquence

*An ſis literarum ignoſcere Vegerius in Prolog.

*Cic Epiſt.
* Parcrcul. in fine Lib. 1.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his ſtrength, & others their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which who had not ſeene is by * *Lyſippus* accounted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, theſe Reliques of that famous Univerſity, though by me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well eſteemed of, though among moſt of theſe our dayes accounted dirt; whoſe labour it is to ſeek new factions, and like nought, but what may be accounted novelty. Reſembling the brute, of which *Cicero*. *Ad id ſolum quod adeſt, quodq; præſens eſt ſe accommodat, paulum admodum ſentiens præteritum, &c.* never caring for what is paſt. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with thoſe Champions of Learning, hundreds of yeares ſince gathered to their former duſt. By whoſe penſils we ſee drawne the lively images of deceaſed Monarchs, the forms of government, & very lives of ſtates. Out of which patternes, if you pleaſe to deeme the leaſtpart of this to have beene taken, it ſhall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not ſeem a ſpurious and de-

* Apud Dicearchum Ἐι μὴ πᾶσιν τοῖς Αθήναις, ςάλαξ ὤν.

generate of ſprings Upon preſumptiō of which I feare not, as the Eagles do their young, to expoſe my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wiſhes for addition to your happineſſe, I take leave, From my Study in *Merton College* Jun. 9. 1637.

Your Worſhips in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROUS.

TO

To the READER.

IT is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me run hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſſe of School-Maſters, who undertake to read the Greek Orators to raw Scholars, themſelves being not ripe in the Attick *Cuſtomes. I have therefore ſo farre endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage mee that will require ſatisfaction. If any thing ſeem amiſſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour to heare*

heare of it from any. For I am not of those whose eares are stopt, when their errours are told them. If this please, it shall adde spurres to the finishing of this course intended, & as occasion may give leave, you shall have the rest that may be spoken.

Yours

F. R.

Index Vocabulorum.

Lib. 1.

Cap. 1. *Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia,* Ἀκτή. Ἀκτὴ δία. Ἀκτή. *Athena in actâ, Cecropia, Cranaa, Attbis, Attica, Athena sub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi eâ de re sententia, Alii sub Erectheo volunt nominari, Justinus sub Amphictyone, Salenos, Selines, Satina, Sethina.*

2. *Athenarum situs,* Ἄστυ, πόλις, Ἀκρόπολις, *Herbæ lucentes, Murus, Pelasgicus & Cimonicus, Propylæa circuitus veteris urbis, & nova ἄστυ & νέα πόλις. Piræei brachia. Murus phalericus, Portæ, Aer, Lacus passim apud Scriptores, Cephissus fluvius.* pag. 6

3 Ἀττικοὶ. Ἀθηναῖοι. *Mores & ingenia.* Τὸ ἰσοπολίτευτον. *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumque habent.* pag. 14.

4 *De populi divisione,* Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιοργοὶ. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. Ἱππῆς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. *Quid Athenienses cum Ægyptiis commune.* p. 18.

5 *Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope, Mutatarum nomina, Augentur à Clisthene, duodecim addit.* Ἀργάδες, Γεργήθιοι, Δημονεῖς, Γάργηττος. *Tribulium* Κοινωνία φυλετῶν. Ναύκραροι. *Quid Naucrari.* pag. 20.

6 *Græcia vicatim habitata.* Δῆμος. *quid? Athenienses proprium habere Demum. Quot. Templa & sacra pagana.* pag. 22.

Τυραννὶς. Ὀλιγαρχία, Δημοκρατία. *Athenienses status mutatio.* Ἰσονομία. Σωτῆρες. Μίγας ὄχλος. pag. 25.

Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

Duodecem Dii Athenienses. Idolatria septifariam commissa. Dii adscriptitii. Θεοὶ ἄγνωστοι. pag. 36.

Cap. 2. *Jupiter* Βασιλεὺς, Νίκης, Ἰκέσιος, Πολιοῦχος, Βελαῖος, Ἑλλήνιος, Ὁμόγνιος, Καταιβάτης, Ἔρκειος, Προμαχεὺς, Ξένιος. *Modii Julis edendi. Tessera hospitalis, seu symbolum. Apollo* Ἀπόλλων Πατρῷος, Πανδῶρος, Ἀλεξίκακος, Φοιβός. *Paan & ejus verbi origo. Mercurius* Πυλαιμένης, Ἑρμῆς, Ἐριούνιος, Πομπαῖος. pag. 3[illegible]

3 *De Saturno Neptuno, Vulcano, Marte, Hercule* Ἀλκαῖος. pag. [illegible]91

4 *De Minerva, Cerere, & Proserpinâ, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Juvene, Prometheo &c.* p. 43.

5 Θεοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἐπιμάχιοι. *Phratriarchi Dii.* pag. 45.

6 *De superstitione Atheniensium & vaticiniis.* pag. 47.

7 *De Templis & Asylis.* pag. 52.

Cap. 8.

Index Vocabulorum.

Cap. 8. De Sacerdotiis pag. 55.
9 De Sacrificiis pag. 57.
10 De Anno Attico pag. 60.
11 De Tragœdia, Satyrâ & Comœdia pag. 80.

Lib. 3.

Cap. 1. De Legum-latoribus Atticis. Νόμοι ἄγραφοι καὶ ἔγγραφοι. Ψήφισμα, Προβούλευμα, De Sanciendis Legibus pag. 94.
2 De comitiis Ἐκκλησία & συγκλητος Ἐκκλησία &c. pag. 101.

Cap. 3. Sect. 1.

De Tribunalibus Atticis & primum de Senatu Πεντακόσιοι. pag. 104.

Cap. 3. Sect. 2.

De Areopago & ejus appellatione. Areopagita. pag. 122.

Cap. 3. Sect. 3.

De judicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ pag. 129.

Cap. 3. Sect. IV.

De judiciis ἐν Δελφινίῳ. Φρεάττοι p. 133.

Cap. 3. Sect. 5.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παράβυστον. Τείχιον. Βατταχῶν: Φοιτικῶν. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. Μετὰ χεῖρα Θησεῖον ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ. Διαιταὶ. pag. 133.

Cap. 4. De nominibus Judicialibus. pag. 136.

Lib. 4.

De ritibus Nuptialibus & amatoriis.

Cap. 1. De venere & Cupidine.
2 De Paederastiâ pag. 152.
3 De Amore mulierum. pag. 154.
4 De Amoris Indiciis pag. 156.
5 De Philtris & incantamentis. pag. 158.
Cap. 6. De usitato more significandi Amorem pag. 163.
7 De Nuptiis pag. 166.
8 Quo tempore optime ducatur uxor pag. 185.
9 Quæ requirantur in Marito pag. 187.
10 Quæ requirantur in Uxore pag. 189.
11 De divortiis pag. 192.
12. De Mulierum Scleragogia & servilibus Ministeriis pag. 194.
13 De mulierum honestioribus opificiis pag. 196.
14 De Uxorum, & Filiarum Oeconomiâ pag. 198.
15 De Adulterio pag. 201.

Lib. 5.

Cap. 1. De puerperarum religione &c. pag. 204.
2 De Puerperio & fœtu Masculo pag. 208.
3 De infantibus lavandis & ungendis pag. 209.
4 De cunabulis &c. pag. 211.
5 De infantis gestatione circa fecum & de nominis impositione p. 214.
7 De nutricibus pag. 216.
8 De expositione infantum p. 217.
9 De liberorum diversitate p. 221.
10 Liberorum educatione p. 223.
11 De puerorum castigatione &c. pag. 224.
12 De ascriptione in φρατρίαν pag. 226.
13 De ascriptione in Ephebeorum censum & in album Lexiarchicum. pag. 229.

pag. 229
14 *Alimenta parentibus Alumnis prebenda* pag. 232
15 *De Adoptione, Testamento & Hereditate* pag. 232
16 *De necessitate sepulturæ* pag. 234
17 *De ter vocandâ animâ, & cenotaphiis* pag. 236
18 *De mortui mutilatione & iis quæ in Homicidiis fieri solebant* pag. 238
19 *De clandendis oculis, pulsandis æneis vasis, & amiciendo Corpore* pag. 241
20 *De offa Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis* pag. 242
21 *De ablutione Mortuorum, Pollinctura & amiculo ferali* pag. 244
22 *De ablutione à mortuis, de coronis quibus corpora ornabantur, de Lecto & Collocatione;* pag. 246
23 *De ritu asserendi & Portandi Corporis*
24 *De Ministerio funerarum & ficticium* pag. 250
25 *De capillis in Luctu tondendis* pag. 251
26 *De ritu lugendi in funere* pag. 254
27 *De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus & de loco Sepulturæ* pag. 257
28 *De Corporis Crematione* pag. 259
29 *De ritu crematoli seu combrendi Corporis De loculis & reliquis* pag. 262
30 *De Tumulis* pag. 264
31 *De Inferiis* pag. 265
32 *De coronandis Tumulis & de Phyllobolia* pag. 268
33 *De Columis, de oratione, & Indis Funebribus & de Aquilis* pag. 269
34 *De Lustratione domus Funestæ, & de parentalibus* pag. 271

Lib. 6. Sect. 1.

De *supplicationibus & Juramentis.*

Cap. 1. *De supplicibus Sacris, & de asylis & aris* pag. 274
2 *De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus* pag. 277
3 *De generibus & locis sacrificiorum* pag. 280
4 *De generibus & formulâ jurandi* pag. 282
5 *De ritibus in Juramento Magno* pag. 284
6 *De juramento parvo & ejus ritibus* pag. 286
7 *De perjurii religione* 288

Sect. 2. *de ritu convivandi.*

Cap. 1. *De Leschis & de tempore victus capiendi* pag. 291
2 *De ritibus & variis modis convivandi* pag. 275
3 *De more salutandi, Sympotiarcho Coronis, Unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis* pag. 295
4 *De cibo & potu* pag. 299
5 *De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solebant* pag. 303
De cantu convivali & Scolio pag. 304

Cap. 7.

Index Vocabulorum.

Cap. 7. De *peregrinis excipiendis.* pag. 308
8 De *Hospitibus excipiendis* pag 310
9 De *pauperibus sublevandis* pag. 315
Sect. 3. De *ritibus Bellicis.*
Cap. De *militibus* pag. 315
2 De *armis quibus vim propulsabant* pag. 319
3 De *armis quibus vim inferebant* pag. 323.
4 De *ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi bellum, Consulendi Deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi Fluvios* pag. 324
5 De *ritu committendi prælium & de usu Tubarum.* pag. 326
6 De *Scytale, de Militum pœnis, Præmiis & Sepultura* pag. 328
7 De *Tropheis* pag. 331
Lib. 7. Sect. 1. De *ritu divinandi per motum furentem & Somniantem* pag. 334
Cap. 1. De *Oraculo Pythio* pag. 336
2 De *Templo Delphico, de Theoris & Oraculi cessatione* pag 241
3 De *Divinatione per somnium, super Melotas, in Templis cum observatione diætæ* pag. 347
4 De *duabus portis somniorum* p. 350
5 De *Somniorum variis generibus & earum lustratione.*
Sect. 2. De *Divinatione Artificiosa primò de Ornithomantia* pag. 356
Cap. 1. De *Extispicina & quibusdam aliis* pag. 360
2 De *ritu divinandi ex vocibus & rebus ominatis* pag. 365
3 De *Sortibus* &c. pag. 371

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia, Ἀκτικὴ. Ἀκταία. Ἀκτὴ *Athenæ in actâ, Cecropiæ, Cranaæ, Atthis, Attica, Athenæ ſub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re ſententia, Alii ſub Erecthëo volunt nominari, Juſtinus ſub Amphictyone. Salenos. Selines. Satinæ. Sethina.*

BY the Sons of *Noah* [a] were the Iles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his Tongue; when by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to Heaven, thinking to leave a name to Poſterity, by building Caſtles in the Aire. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a *ſcattering abroad* upon the face of the earth; he having ſo ſpoken it, whoſe breath alone affords a fair wind: hoiſt then they muſt their Sails, and bidding a dieu to the plain in the Land of *Shinar*, ſeek out ſome new habitation. Travellers they were of yore, and yet ſtill muſt journy. Each one in as different a courſe, as of a divers language. The Sons of *Shem* their way, the Sons of *Japhet*, theirs. *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai*, and *Javan*, with whom I purpoſe one furlong

[a] Gen. 10. 5.

to keep company, leaving the reſt on one ſide or other, or behind, looking only to my propoſed ſcope. *b* Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰάονος τοῦ Ἕλληνος Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες ἕλληνες γεγόνασι. From *Javan came Jonia and all the Greeks.* And in Scripture we have *Javan* put for *Greece*; in *Daniel* twice, *c And when I am gon forth, loe the Prince of Grecia ſhall come.* And again, *d He ſhall ſtir up all againſt the Realm of Grecia.* Where although the old Tranſlation renders it not *Javan*, yet it is found in the Original. He then coming into the Country, called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Jonia* and *Jas*, ἡ δ' Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο, *for Attica was anciently called Jonia and Jas.* In which words we ſtill retain ſome reliques of the Radix, notwithſtanding the ſmall difference of the termination. But if we pleaſe to view after what title the *ſons of Javan* were ſtiled *Jaones*, we ſhall come nearer home *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ὅταν φῇ— Ἐν δὲ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες— περὶ Ἀθηναίων λέγει. *Homer* when he ſaies, *There the Bœotians & Jaones* ſpeaks of the *Athenians.* The *Scholiaſt* of Æſchylus on theſe words,

f Ἰαόνων γλῶ δίχαπα πέρσαι θέλων.

f In Perſis p. 133.

Ἰσέον δὲ ὅτι Ἰάονες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγον ἀπό τινος Ἴωνος βασιλέως αὐτῶν. *It is to be underſtood*, quoth he, *that the Athenians are tearmed Jaones, from one Iaon* (he means *Iavan*) *that was their King.* Neither is it ſtrange that the *vau* or ὑψιλὸν is left out; for though it be not written, yet perſwaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Dipthongs were. For the *g* antique Latines & the Greeks ſpake it as broad *a*, as if it had been *Theſaros*, not *Theſauros.* Sir *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, *That Aſia the leſs had people before Greece had any, and that Iavan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but took Aſia the leſs in his paſſage, and from thence paſt over the neareſt way, leaving his own name to ſome maritimate Province on that ſide, as he did to that part ſo called.* In which, although the authority of ſo worthy and judicious a Man might move much, yet it ſhall be ſufficient for me, only to go ſo far, as antiquity will

b Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.

c Dan. 10. 20.

d Cap. 11. 2.

e Strabo l. 9. p. 392.

g Donat. in Ter. p. 130.

will bear me out. *a Thucidides* reports, that it is manifeſt that all *Greece* was not βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, firmly inhabited, but that there were continual Pilgrimages, or Removings of the Inhabitants, forſaking their former places, being driven out by a ſtronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was no ſafe traffick or commerce by Sea or Land, each manured his Grounds to have Provent alone to ſerve, for preſent neceſſity, deſiring no more then from hand to mouth; it being uncertain how ſoon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their ſeats; not taking grievous that ſharp charge, *veteres migrate coloni, Be gone you ancient Bores.* But the more fertil Soil had hard bickrings. *Theſſalia*, *Bœotia*, and a great part of *Peloponneſus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled, Τὴν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν διὰ τὸ λεπτόγειον ἀστασίαστον ἔσαν ἄνθρωποι οἰκεῖν ὁπὸ δυνατῶν μετ. *But Attica, by reaſon of the thinneſs or barrenneſs of the ground, was always inhabited by the ſame men* (none it ſeems being willing to leave his better for a worſe) *not affording fuel to contention.* Out of which peace ſprung up ſo great a multitude, that *Attica*, even now ſwarming, and οὐκ ἰκανὴν οὖσαν, *not able to contain and feed ſo many*, is conſtrained to ſend forth Colonies into *Ionia*, a region of *Aſia* the leſs, which is reported by the *Greeks* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets ſay, *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be *c* Κτίσας Ἀσιάδ' χθονὸς, *the maker or founder of Aſia.* The Mother *Ionia* (for ſo I pleaſe to ſay) kept not ſtill her former name. For in proceſs of time ſhe owned *Actæa*; from *Actæon*, as *d Strabo* ſayes, or from *Actæus*, according to *Pauſanias*, who was the firſt King thereof, by *f Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*, called *Actæus*. But *g Dion Chryſoſtom* brings a more natural reaſon then this, why it was *Actæa*: *Actia* ſignifies a *ſhore*, both in the *Greek* and * *Latine* ſpeech. Now becauſe all of it within a little was waſhed with the Sea, and *h* ἀλιτενὴς, it might challenge unto it ſelf *Actæa*, *Dion*

a Lib. 1. p. 2.

b Thucid.

c In Ione T. 2. p. 619.

d Lib 9. p. 397

e In Att. p. 2.

f Pag 23.

g Orat. 6.

* Virg. Æn. 5. p. 214.

h Strabo l. 9. p. 391.

φιλόχθονα δέ τε ὀλίγου πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὄρθιον ἢ κῦτος λαβοῦσαν διὸ καὶ ἀκτὴν πρότερον. Hence Ακτὴ by the *Ænigmatical Poet* in his *iCassandra* is put for this Country. *Tzetzes. Because it is (Ακτα) a cliff, that is cast forth and lying in the Sea.* And *Athene* her self by *Plautus* is said, *Athenæ in acta, pro Athenis Atticis*, as *k Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old after a season, and *Cecrops* having married the Daughter of *Actæus*, glories in his *Cecropia* (and *Athens Cecropiæ*, and *Cecropis civitas*, and after that *Cranaæ*, from *Cranaus* the King that succeeded him.) this *Cranaus*, among other of his daughters, had one *l Atthis*, from whom also was derived *Atthis* and *Attica*, next *Posidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this region stood *Athens*, *Queen of Greece*, so called from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops* moved with a Prodigie of a sudden shooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a salt spring in the *Acropolis*, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did signifie *Neptune*, and the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into suffrages for *Neptune* and the women for *Minerva*, who had most voices should carrie it. The females being more, the Goddess bore away the Bell. Lo here a witty Divel to bring in ἐπιχωρίους θεοὺς, Gods of his own making, to infold the superstitious in an ignorant zeal. However let us leave the shadow of poetical fictions, & take the true draught out of *Mythologie*. *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient Kings, striving to draw away their Subjects from sea-faring negotiations, and a desire to live by sailing, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occasion of the speech that *Neptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City, Ἐκεῖνος δὲ &c. *Neptune* is put for the Sea, and businesses thereof. *Minerva* for Arts and ingenious kind of life, nay saies *Ovid* in his Kalender, *Mille Dea est operum*, she is Goddess of a 1000 Trades. Others say that the City was consecrated to her by *Amphictyon, & nomen civitati Athenas dedit.* c *Justine*. Others in the time of *Erectheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this name

i Pag. 22.

k In Spicilegiis.

l Strabo & Paus. locis præd.

a Varro apud August. l. 18. c. 9. de civit. Dei.

b in Them. p. 87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

given. Which Author *d Marcianus Heracleota* doth follow, ὑςέρησιν δ χρόνοις Ἐρεχθέως ἡ πόλεως ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ τ Ἀθηνᾶς πλὴν πεφυτευκέναι λαβὼν. This was that *Erechtheus*, who in a time of drought over all the world except *Ægypt*, brought Corn to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. Beholding this City hath been to *Ægypt* for other Kings; to wit, *e Cecrops* and *Menestheus*, for his Father *Petes* was an *Ægyptian*. In the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, and before him it was a received opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Ægyptians*, *Sais* in that tongue answering to *Athene* in *Greek*, as *Tzetzes* out of *Carax*. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of *Sais*, they argue from this. Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians* have divers customs alike. Witness *Diodorus Siculus*. But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *Athens*, when the people came more seriously to addict themselves to civil Government, and study of good Literature; knowledge and art being ascribed to *Minerva*. Τῇ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾷ τ ἐπιτήμην πολιτικὴν καὶ τὰς τέχνας, sayes *f Aristotle*. Nay her Name being derived from thence, תנא *thena* in the *Chaldy* tongue signifying to *study* or *learn:* from which come *thenaa*, and with an article *Hatthenaa* as *g Heinsius* the most learned. As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from *ana* the number of three, which notes eternity, and so from *hat-het-ana*. *Athena*. Because wisdom doth containe Eternity, let us send it back into *Germany*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which was once the *h shop of letters* and the Muses, whereof it is now deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former *Athens*, nay the name it selfe. For if we believe some, they tell us, that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not. Because that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisæa*, which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in discourse with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many years in that City, I had no other appellation from him then *Ateene*, which others write *Satina* corrupted as *Portus* and *Meursius* truly think for εἰς Ἀθήνας. Nay *a Hugo Favolius* who was there himself

d ὃν περιηγήσει.

e Anstoph. sch. pag. 79. Tzetz. in Lycop. p. 23.

f Polit. l. 8. c. 9

g In Aristar. Sac. Synt. 1. 1. 1 pag. 27.

h Isidor.

a In Hodæp. Byz. l. 3.

himſelf, even to the ſame purpoſe, names it *Sethina*.

Undique ſic miſeræ nobis ſpectantur Athenæ,
Dædala quas Pallas ſeſe coluiſſe negaret,
Quas Neptune pater, nunquam tua mœnia dicas,
Indigenæ Sethina vocant. ---
We wretched *Athens* round do view, which now,
Though once ingenuous *Pallas* love's her ſhame,
And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, would'ſt diſavow,
To which the homebred give *Sethina* name.

CAP. II.

Athenarum ſitus. Ἄστυ πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. *Herbæ lucentes, Murus, Pelaſgicus & Cimonius,* Propylæa. *Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ:* ἡ ἄνω & κάτω πόλις. *Piræei brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aer. Laus paſſim apud ſcriptores. Cephiſſus Fluvius.*

b In Panath p. 171. 172.

GReece, ſays *b Ariſtides*, is placed in the midſt of the whole Earth; and in the midſt of it ſtands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, cloſeted in the womb of time, received nouriſhment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is ſeated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do incompaſs, as *c Strabo*: on the top of which ſtands that renowned Fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himſelf names * *Cecropia*; of old ἄστυ, *The City*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witneſs *d Pauſanias*. *e Terent*, *An in actu venit?* Donat. *Sic Athenienſes urbem ſuam vocabant, unde ipſi incolæ ἀστοὶ vocantur.* So, ſaith he, the *Athenians* called that City, whence the Citizens themſelves are called *aſtoi*: after that they called it πόλις; *f Pauſanias*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx*, a Caſtle; which

c Lib. 9. p. 396

* Plin. Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

d In Art. p. 13 l. 16.

e Eunuch. act. 5. ſc. 6.

f Attic. p. 24. l. 43.

which ever were ſacred to *Minerva*, as *g Ariſtides*. Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks*, named *Diva retinens in ſummis urbibus arces: The Goddeſs that keeps the Turrets of Cities.* This only now remains the ſuccor and ſhelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being ſtrongly furniſhed with men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand, as *Chriſtophorus Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing leaſt he had miſtaken the number. As for the Forces thereof *a Hugo Favolius* ſhall thus inſtruct you,

Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem
Quæque impôſita jugo eſt, vaſtas proſpectat in undas
Æquoris, & circum diſperſa mapalia, & omnes
Externo indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoſte,
Nobilis arx, toto quæ non eſt altera Graio
Nota magis regno, validisque inſtructior armis,
Ignivomoque magis tormentorum impete tuta.

A Caſtle only famous at this day,
Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea.
The ſcattered thacht ſheds that ſtand it about,
The Fort defends and keeps Invaſion out,
And Natives ſafe. A Fort, none noted more
In *Greece*, which hath a better Warlike ſtore,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the top of this Turret ſtands the faſhions of Half Moons moſt rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Iſhmaelites*, who have the Moon in no ſmall honor, as my much honored Mr *h Selden* hath obſerved. Of which Lunulets thus ſpeaks *Favolius*,

Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
Ardua cœlivagas feriunt faſtigia nubes,

Whoſe top with gilded Moons aſpiring high,
Do knock the Clouds the Pilgrims of the ſky.

Neither may it paſs obſcurely which I have taken up, being let fall from the mouth of an eye-witneſs; namely, that on the ſide

g Orat. in Miner. To 1. P. 21.

a Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

b De Diis Syris, Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.

ſide this Hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of herb, that farre off, in the night ſeaſon, gives a moſt ſhining and glittering light, to which when a man ſhall approach, he ſhall diſcern nothing but the herb it ſelf. Of which matter I ſeriouſly wiſh that I could teſtifie the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The Walls that environ this, are none now, ſaies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced, ſome part thereof erected by thoſe two *Tuſcan* Brothers, who leaving their Country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called πελαργοὶ, *Pelargi*, Storks, διὰ τὴν πλάνην, for their wandring, *a Strabo*. *b Plinie* ſayes their names were *Eurialus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that firſt built houſes of Brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pauſanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author and the perſons wrong, in putting a falſe name upon one of them, I will do them none. Read then *Laterarias domus conſtituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. *c Pauſanias*, φασὶ δ' Ἀχόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον. From theſe was that part which they edified, called *Pelargicum*. *Ariſtophanes in Avibus.*

Τίς δ' ἂν καθέξει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Simon* the Son of *Miltiades* cloathed. *Pauſanias* in the fore-quoted place. Theſe walls admitted no gate but one, ſo rarely beautified with that coſtly *Propylæum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is diſcommended by *d Demetrius Phalareus* for diſburſing ſo great a ſum of money. *e* For which he was not ſmally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore ſeeing him ſomewhat ſad, and demanding the cauſe, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, ſeek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counſel the *Athenians* were entangled with their neighbour War againſt the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit.

By

a Lib. 9. pag. 397. *b* Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 65

c In Atic. p. 26. l. 34.

d Tul. Off. l. 2.

e Val. Max. l. 3. c. 1.

By the *way* it ſhall be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as *f Plutarch* διὰ τὸ ἀκολάστου καὶ δυσώδους it may be, for his heat in Venery and ill ſavour. Goats likewiſe, ſays *g Varro*, came not thither, unleſs for a neceſſary ſacrifice once, leſt they ſhould hurt the *Olive*, which is ſaid firſt to have ſprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is ſaid to be threeſcore ſtadia. Now a *Stadium* is about ſome *ſix hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the cuſtome of the ancient Greek, ſo to meaſure the length or diſtance of grounds or Cities, by the σταδία. The firſt City then is contained in ſeven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houſes, able to make a City of themſelves. And ſo indeed were they diſtinguiſhed by ἡ ἄνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις. The upper and lower City. h *Plutarch*, ἥ τε κάτω καὶ περὶ Σαλάμινα στρατοπέδοις τὴν ἄνω πόλιν διαφυλάξαι. Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greek Authors that when you met with τὸ ἄνω in the *deſcription* of a *Country*, you preſently muſt conceive the higher part, if it be τὸ κάτω, the lower. *a Thucidides.* ἐφειδόν τε τῶν ἀλλήλους τὴν καὶ ἥν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες ἐν Σαλάμινι κάτω ᾤκουν. *And they preyed upon each other, and among the reſt who were not addicted to the Sea, yet lived below*, underſtand near the Sea, *Schol.* κάτω ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τῆς Σαλάμινος. The τὸ ἄνω then, and τὸ κάτω knit together, made but one joynt corporation; both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themſelves, took up, as *b Dion Chryſoſtom* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiaſt* teſtifying that the walls were πλέον ἢ περὶ σταδίου ἢ fifteen miles ſave one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had ſo ſoon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written κε for ἰε, twenty for fifteen. For ſo it ought to be. Neither is it ſtrange that it had ſo large a bound. For conſider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may ſee in *c Pliny*, from *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and ſo to the other ſide of *Piræum*, four miles and

f Ἑλλωτικ. pag. 175.
g De re Ruſt.
* *Five feet make a pace, and a thouſand paces a mile.* Iſidor Orig. l. 15. c. 16.
h In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.
a Lib. 1. pag. 6. 2.
b Orat. 6.
c Nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 85.

and a quarter. The utmoſt wall of which *Thucydides* ſpeaks in the ſecond Book, conſiſted of five miles a quarter & half. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munichia* had ſeven miles and an half more. All which being put together, makes up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chryſoſtom* muſt be here underſtood; and it behoves us to conceive that he ſpake not barely of the naked walls, for then it cannot hold; but I ſuppoſe ſome houſes to have been without *d* πρὸς τῷ ἀφιβόλοις, as he ſays, τῷ ἄστει, οἰκεῖσθαι γὰρ πᾶλαι καὶ παῦπαξύμπαντα. In which I appeal to more judicious heads. Neither can I ſilently paſs by the opinion of *John Meurſius*, who reading in *e Pauſanias* theſe words, Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ ταδίοις μάλιστα ἑκατὸν ἀφέστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἡ πρὸς φαλήρῳ θάλασσα, ſhould preſently obtrude to us, that *Pauſanias* teaches, that the *f* wall called *Phalericus* is but twenty *ſtadia* or two mile and an halfe. When indeed he meant nothing leſs. For ſpeaking of ſalt ſprings, which he calls θαλάσσης κύματα, he ſeems to involve a reaſon drawn from the nearneſs of the Sea. For when he writes of this brackiſh well, *Among the Athenians, the Sea which comes up near Phalerus, is diſtant from the City but twenty ſtadia at the moſt*, quoth he. Where *Amaſæus* hath thus ſtrangly doted. *Athenæ à Phalero abſunt ſtadia haud amplius xx.* And that this was the meaning of the Authour, proves that which follows. He might have likewiſe conſidered that πρὸς with a Dative caſe, ſignifies not only *juxta* and *prope*, as I have tranſlated it, but *ſupra* ſometimes, which will now ſerve better. And *Meurſius* indeed blames the number, but ſees not into the words. Now it is not needleſs that the two walls, which joynes *Piræum* and *Athens* at ſo long a diſtance, be ſomewhat ſpoken of, ſeeing they are reckoned by a *Livie* among the *multa viſenda*, Many things worthy of ſight at *Athens*. Theſe are the μακρὰ τείχη, in *b Propertius*, --*Theſeæ brachia longa viæ*. *c Appian* of *Alexandria* μακρὰ σκέλη, and *d Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which *e Plutarch*. The other towards the South, in

d Loco citato

e In Archid. p. 244. l. 37.

f Att. Lect. l. 3. c. 4.

a Lib. 31.

b Lib. 3. Eleg. 19. p. 192.

c In bello Mith. p. 125. l. 9.

d Pag. 355. l. 10

e In Pericle. p. 115. l. 20.

in height about forty Cubits, as *f Appian* teſtifies. Theſe are called *διὰ μέσου τείχη* by *g Dion Chryſoſtom*, becauſe *Athens* being at one end, & *Pyræum* at the other, theſe were drawn forth between. And when Writers ſpeak of *Νότιον διὰ μέσου τοῦ χου*, it may be conjectured that 'tis for diſtinction of that *Νότιον τοῦ χου* in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, *h* witneſs *Pauſanias*. *Ariſtophanes* ſeems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themiſtocles* built theſe, *In* i *Equitibus*.

Τὸν Πειραιᾶ περιέμαξεν.

Which his *k* Scholiaſt affirms, *Τὸν δὲ Πειραιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς περιέβαλε τῇ πόλει. For Themiſtocles added Piræum to the City.* We read in *l Probus* that he was the onely Agent in walling the City, & that he ſo haſtned the accompliſhing, that they were fain to be as it were Sacrilegious, and make uſe of Materials formerly conſecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But *Plutarch* gain-ſaies this, and that he did only *τὴν πόλιν ἐξέπλησεν τῷ πειρεῖ, καὶ τὸν γλῶ τῆς θαλάτης*, conjoyn the City and *Piræum*, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It ſeems ſomewhat forward before. However, ſo fenny was the ground it was founded upon, that the work ſoon came to great reparation, which *a Cimon* the ſon of *Miltiades* undertook. For with Stones of a huge weight, and Lime, he made the Earth ſo firm that it could not give. Nay he was ſo liberal, that he did out of his own expenſes ſo great favours to a People, that ſome years after gratifyed him with exile. Neither did he only mend the breaches; but in after time *o* finiſhed the whole work, ſo that he may truely be ſaid to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. * *Meurſius* hath obſerved ten, but I fear they will ſcarce ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt City. Take then theſe, *Dipylon* or *Thriaſia*, the faireſt of all, *velut in ore urbis poſita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, ſayes *Livie*, *major aliquanto patentiorque quàm cæteræ eſt*, greater ſomewhat and wider then the reſt. Hence I ſuppoſe named *Dipylon*, as if it were as big as two Gates. *Πυλῶναι. Piraicæ*

f In Mithr. p. 124. l. ult.
g Orat. 6.
b In Attic. p. 19. l. 8.
i P. 337.
k P. 338. A. col. 2.
l In Them. p. 27.
m In Them. p. 87. l. 25.
n Plut. in Cim. p. 355. l. 14.
o Plut. p. 355. *l.* 12. *unleſs* τὸ ὕστερον *may have reſpect to Conon, who after the victory at Cnidas erected theſe walls as* Pauſan. in Attic. p. 2. l. 14. *I would neither deceive my ſelf or the Reader.*
* Attic. Lect. initio.
p Dec. 4. *l.* 1. p. 11. A.

raicæ. Nere the Temple of *Chalcodoon.* Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theseus.* *q Plutarch.* Ἱππάδες. *Hippades,* where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Orator rests with his Progenitors, who being racked under *Antipater,* chose rather to bite off his tongue, then to divulge the secrets of his country. *a* Ἱερὰ. *Sacra,* the Sacred Gate. We read of this in *b Theophrastus's Characters,* But to my great admiration that the Eagle-sighted *Casaubon* had not espy'd a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at *Athens* as Ἱεραὶ, yet is there any that ever read μὴ τὰς Ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενεγκεῖν νεκρὸν, the dead to have been carried out to burial through the sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spake not as our vulgar do, such as *when Christmas comes out of Wales.* write then Εἰλεῖα, Ἑλεία are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. *c Demosthenes,* Αἰγέως πύλαι. The gates of Ægeus. It seems to have been in *Delphinium* where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called *d* Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις. *The statue at the gates of Ægeus,* Μελιτίδες. *Melitides.* Where lyes *Thucidides* the son of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponesian War,* who after his return into his country from banishment, was treacherously murthered, his Sepulcher stands neer these gates. *e Pausanias* Κεραμικαὶ. *Ceramicæ.* These are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμικῷ πύλαι. *The gates in Ceramicus,* where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, which died in the seditious War that *Thrasybulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants.* *f Xenophon,* Διοχάρης πύλαι. The gates of *Diochares.* Of whom I have nought to speak. Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι. The *Acharnan gates.* I suppose they were called so from the Town or Village neer, named *Acharna,* to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients name their Gates from the Town to which they were neere The *Romans* their *porta Collatina*

q In Theseo p. 9. l. 20.

a ἐν βίοις τ῀ ἑητόρων p. 456. *b* περὶ ἀγροικίας p. 45.

c Pag 715. num. 95.

d Plut. Thes. p. 4. l. 21.

e Attici p. 21. l. 41.

f Ἑλλην. C p. 278. l. 43.

from

from *Collatia*, a Bridge not far off. And happily it is so here, as also in Διόμεια, *Diomæa*; or *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the City. Θεργλια. *Thraciæ*. These are all that I met with named: Others there are obscurely pointed at by *g Pausanias*, as that neer the Gallery which from its various draughts they call *Pœcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agoræus* in brass. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace then speak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve gates which being opened, enter; suck that sweet aire, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, *a* and prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgements for contemplation. Whence *Euripides* may well strein to this note, that *Venus* sitting neer and adorning herself, sends forth continually *Cupids of Learning*, σοφοὺς ἐρετὰς ξυναρμόσει. Well may he bless that clime stiling it, λαμπρότατον αἰθέρα, which hath been the mother of the *Muses* (by the leave of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmonia*; as if there were no such melodious concent, as in the Sciences. Let not *d Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lie under the same temperature & disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it; *e* No coast so truely void of all earthly dregs, and participating more of the celestial and defecated aire. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions. *f Famous*, *g The most renowned*, h *Happy*, i *Sacred Athens*. *Pindarus*. k *Wonderful*. l *Much spoken of*, m *Neat*, *&c.* To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to bear Vessels of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing least it might be advantagious to an enemie that might invade them, have cut it into many & sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented that, which they did but suppose could happen,

CAP.

Meurſius *hath added two Itoneæ, & Scæa, in Atticis which I never saw until I had written this place, as God and man is witness. I speak least any should think I have stolen out of him because we meet.*

g Atticis p. 14. c. 11.
a Cassiod. Var. l. 12.
b Medea p. 460, 461.
c Med. p. 459
d In Præf ad ad Charact.
e Tom. 1. p. 173.

f Aia. p. 57.
g Oed. Col. p. 258.
h Oed. Col. p. 264.
i Aia. p. 71.
k l m p. 361.

CAP. III.

Ατθικοὶ. Ἀθηναῖοι, *Mores, & Ingenia.* τὰ μετεβάλετο. *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumque habent.*

l ἐν βίῳ Ἑλλάδος. p. 169.

THe *Athenians* by *l Dicæarchus* are divided into two ſorts, Ατθικὸς, *Atticos*, and Ἀθηναίους. Of which, though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Inſomuch as one of the puniſhments, which the *Athenians* are ſaid to inflict upon their women (for the appeaſing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great dammage, in anger conceived for loſs of the Title of the City) was this, *m* That none ſhould after call them Ἀθηναίους, *Athenians*, but Ατθικούς, *Atticos*. A revenge I ſuppoſe opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ μὲν φλύαροι τοὺς λήρους, ὕπουλοι, συκοφάντας, παρατηροὺς τῶν ξενικῶν βίων. *Curious bablers, Deceitful, Calumniators, Obſervers of the lives of ſtrangers.* Περίεργοι τοὺς λαλοὺς. A ſufficient witneſs of this is *a* St. *Luke*, that ſaies, *They did regard nothing more then to here and ſpeak novelty.* To which end they often meet in Barbers ſhops, where all news, that was going in thoſe days, were currant. Hence ſay we, *verba in tonſtrinis proculcata*; and in Greek ἐπὶ τῶν κειρέων λόγος, *b Ariſtophanes.*

m Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 9.

a Act. 17.

b In Pluto p. 38.

Καὶ τοι λόγος γ' ἦλθ', ἦ δ' Ηρακλεᾶ, πολὺς
Ἐπὶ τῶν κειρέων κατὰ πολλῶν
Ὡς ἐξαπίνης ἀνὴρ γεγένηται πλούσιος

They that ſate in Barbers ſhops did talk much that he was ſuddenly grown rich. The Scholiaſt ſeems to take the meaning, as if the Cœmedian had quipped them for reſorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chyrurgions, of better credit. But I ſee no reaſon. They met in both to prattle. *c Ælian*

c Var. hiſt. lib. 3. c. 7.

Καθεζόμενος ἐν ἰατρείῳ, φλυαρῶν, καὶ κακῶς ἀγορεύων ἐν παιδὸς τάξει

ἀψῶντας. Sitting in a Chyrurgions shop, scandalous, and thirsty to speak ill by all means, σπουδαίους, men Italianated, who can smile even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophrastus* hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to their Enemies, and disguise their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their snares; that salute with mortal Embracements, and claspe you in those arms, which they mean to embrew in your deareſt Blood. In sum, fair without, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above and seems sound, but putrifies under the skin. And so much the word doth import. Συκοφαντῶντας. Given to false accusations. The *e* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes, That it being forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and some, nevertheless the Decree being absolute against it, presuming so to do, they set Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as *f Plutarch* likewise) Hence came this word to be used for any crafty Knave that gets his living by promoting, *g* ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶν. One that meddles in every mans affairs, and therefore *h Aristophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the Scene, terming himself an *Overseer* both of private and publick matters. If then such a person had espied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, he would as sure have fetched him over for his Coyn, as any *Summoner* doth a person delinquent towards the flesh, or any Lawyer a Credulous Client, and having well plumed him, afterwards give him a Dimissory. Ἐκεῖνοι (*Sycophantæ*) μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν, ζῶσιν ἄδων, *Xenophon*. Such were many in *Athens*, insomuch that *Aristotle* being asked what *Athens* was, answered παλίλλη, *All beautiful*, ἀλλ' ὀχνη ἐπ' ὀχνη γυναῖκα οὔκαν δ' ἔτι οὔκαν, in a Verse of *a Homer*, in the description of *Alcinous* his Garden, but pears grew ripe after pears, and figgs after figgs, meaning a continual succession of sycophants. This made *Isocrates* the Orator to compare the city to a *Curtizan* with whom few there were but would have to do, yet none dare take to wife; affirming it the best place to sojourn in, but the worst to inhabit:

d Cap. ἀγροικίας.

e In Plut. pag. 5.

f In Solone pag. 65.

g Xenophon. Ἑλλ. β. p. 271. l. 20.

h Pluto p. 90. c. p. 91. b.

i Ἑλλ. β. p. 272. l. 19.

a Ὀδυσσ. η.

By

By reaſon of their Sycophants and treacheries of nimble tongued Oratours. Παρατηρεῖσθαι περὶ ξενικὸν βίον. I was once half in an opinion that theſe words were to have been put to the former thus; συκοφαντάδες καὶ παρατηρηταὶ περὶ ξενικὸν βίον. And I think the ſenſe will run well, *Malitious obſervers of the lives of ſtrangers.* The *Athenians* were φιλόξενοι, and held hoſpitality ſacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law, *That forrainers ſhould receive no wrong,* ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. *b Socrates* in *Xenophon.* Now he diſcommends the Ἀττικοὶ as ready to trouble and vex ſtrangers in law, duly marking & bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage: As for the *Athenienſes* they were μεγαλόψυχοι, ἁπλοῖ τοῖς τρόποις, φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, *Brave ſpirited, ſingle dealing, & faithful friends.* But as the words were at length confounded, ſo did their manners *degenerate,* growing into ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς φύσεως, an *Irregularity of nature,* as *c Polybius.* No μεγαλοψυχία afterwards, but haughtineſs of ſpirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when *d Livy* ſays, *Ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos ſervare,* he means, they had nothing left but thoſe proud ſpirits, which their ancient flouriſhing fortune hath puffed up. No ἁπλότης, or ſimplicity, *no e lamb-like innocency* or *mildneſs;* but as *f Plutarch* ſpeaks, *people raſhly angry, ſoon pittiful, rather inclined ſharply to take Opinion, then quietly to be Enformed. And as they are ready to help baſe and object peaſants, ſo friendly do they entertain childiſh and ridiculous toyes, rejoycing in their own praiſes, and nothing moved with ſcurrility, Fearful and terrible even to their Governors, humane towards their Enemies.* Not unfitly then *g Valerius Maximus, Quantam ergo reprehenſionem merentur, &c.* How deſerve they to be blamed who though they had juſt laws, yet had moſt wicked diſpoſitions, and choſe rather to take their own courſes, then put in practiſe their ſtatutes? As for their impudence, ſo great was it, that to expreſs a countenance void of ſhame, the Comœdian hath put Ἀττικὸν βλέπειν, An *Athenian look,* in h *Nubibus.* φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, So accounted in the time of *a Paterculus,*

b Απομνημ. β. p. 4. 28.

c Lib. 6.

d Dec. 4. p. 7. l. 1.

e Ariſtoph. pag. 694.

f πολιτ. παραγγ. p. 387.

g Lib. 5. c. 3. pag. 207.

h Pag. 189. g.

a Lib. 2. p 47

culus, that what was done in ſincerity and faithful truſt, the *Romans* would ſay it was performed *fide Attica*, with an *Athenian* loyalty. Fear and power might make them truſty, but how they break their Leagues, took part with other *Iſlanders* againſt confederates, and violated the Laws of arms, Hiſtorians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was ἀείμνηστος, ever mindful, as *b Virgil*, *memor ira*. And the hatred they proſecuted the Barbarians withal, was ſo unquenchable, that it burned againſt *c* all *Barbarians* for the *Perſians* ſake; and they forbad them their Sacrifices, as they uſed to do murderers among them: Where you muſt note, that all that were not *Græcians* were called of them *Barbarians* But loe! how are they now become all *barbarous*! whether or no people of *Africa*, or ſome of the *Catelani*, I cannot juſtly tell. *Mahumedans* all, poor and miſerable, living by rapine, or fiſhing, or tilling the earth, *d Favolius* Ῥυραϛ; *coacti*

b Æneid. 1.

c Iſocrat. in Pan. 109.

d Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

Pauperie aſſuerunt vitam tolerare rapinâ.
Aut paſſim infeſtant furto, raptiq; propinqua
Æquora piratæ, ſed quæ pars æquior, hamis
Fallit ineſcatos tereti ſub arundine piſces.
Aut deſolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semper inops, miſera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.

Oppreſt with need, they do their life ſuſtain
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour main
With pillaging. Who are more juſt and good
With angling do the ſilly fiſh delude;
Or plough the grounds made deſolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, miſerable, ſtill poor.

CAP. IV.

De populi divisione, Εὐπατρίδαι Γεωμόροι. Δημιουργοί. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. Ἱππῆς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. *Quid Athenienſibus cum Ægyptiis commune.*

e *So doth* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, *divide them into* εὐπατρίδας & ἀχρείους, lib. 2. n. 2.

THere were at firſt two kinds of People in *Athens*, e two orders, *quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid interclucebat*, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune: ſuch as at this day are in *France*, either Peers or Peaſants; or as in *Venice*, *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. And although *Pollux* calls them τρία γένη, three ſorts, yet I make but two, becauſe the γεωμόροι were not any way more gentile for blood, ſurpaſſing for riches, or happy for life. But becauſe he hath ſo ſet them, take them thus, as he ſpeaks, a τρία γὰρ ἦν τὰ πάλαι Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, *Eupatridæ*, were ſuch as were deſcended from the loyns of thoſe *Heroes*, famous in *Greek Hiſtory*, whoſe families were ever renowned, and poſterity propagated to many generations; ſuch as *Praxiergidæ*, *Eteobutadæ*, *Alcmæonidæ*, *Cynidæ*, *Ceryces*, &c. whom we may term Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, *Geomori*, may not ſeem unlike our Yeomen, who had lands of their own, and ſuſtained themſelves with the fruit and commodity of theſe their poſſeſſions. Δημιουργοί, *Demiurgi*, were men of ſome handy-craft, Tradeſ-men, ſuch as Tent-makers, Shoo-makers, Carpenters, Maſons, & the like. But *Solon* made another diviſion. For when the *Diacrii*, which were thoſe that lived in the upper part of the City, οἱ ἐξ ἄστεως, ſays, *Diogenes Laertius*; and the *Pediæi*, which likewiſe are πεδιῆς, ſuch as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain. And the *Paralii* who lived near the Sea, were at contention about Government. The *Diacrii* leaning to a Democraty, as *e Plutarch* writes, the *Pediæi* to an Oligarchy, and the *Paralii* between both, and had choſen *Solon* to arbitrate and determine the matter

a Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. p 404.

b In Solone.

c Pag. 61. In Solonem.

matter; he made these four ranks. πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, ἵππεις, ζευγῖται, θῆτες, *Pentacosiomedimnos, Equites, Zeugites, Thetas.* *Pentacosiomedimni* were those who ἐν ξηραῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑγραῖς could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike. What *Possardus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *modium*, hath no place here; for he supposes that *Pentacosiomedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could suffice to sow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ὑγρῶς: For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzivirii* printed at *Leyden*, *An.* 1635. under the name of *Postellus*, who was sometimes a Professor of Tongues in *France*, and Author of the Treatise *de Magistratibus Athenienſium*. *Equites* were such as were of ability to keep a horse, or had the quantity of thee hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise ἱππάδα τελοῦντες. *Zeugitæ*, were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could bear office in the Commonwealth. A fourth rank which is called e θῆτας, *Thetas*, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the Weal-publick. But it had not been a miss if I had shewn how the *Ægyptians* had divided their people into three Classes, as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatridæ* addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honor, answer to the *Ægyptian* Priests. f Nay those great houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumolpidæ*, *Ceryces*, *Cynidæ*. For out of the flock were chosen Paiests, hence ἱεροζώνη ἐκ γένους in g *Demosthenes*. The *Geomori* who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Ægypt* who hold possessions on these tearms, namely, To provide Souldiers when need shall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* resemble those Plebeians, who skilful in some Art, did set out their labor to daily hire, as *Diodorus Siculus* can testifie.

d Plut. p. 65.

e Plutarch. loco prædicto.

f Plut. Thes. p. 8. l. 18.

g Pag. 741. num. 164.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope, mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Cliſthene: duæ additæ. Θεματεῖα. Φεσπιεῖς. Τετρῶς. Γενεᾶς. *Tribulum* Κοττυτία. Φυλετικὸν δεῖπνον Θεσμικόν.

IN *Athens* there was but four Tribes under the rule of *Cecrops*. *Cecropis*, *Autochthon*, *Actæa*, *Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranais*, *Atthis Meſogæa*, *Diacris*. I ſuppoſe from the parts of *Attica*, it lying partly neer the Sea, thence *Actæa*, partly hilly, thence *Diacris*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Meſogæa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour the King that was then; whether the King would honour the Tribe ſo much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not. It is probable that it was an honor to their Governor, for as *Cecrops* gave the firſt names, *Cranaus* the ſecond, *each aſſuming a title to himſelf*. *Erichonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter*, *Pallas*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*. Διὰς. Ἀθηναΐς. Ποσειδωνιάς. Ἡφαιστιάς. But when *Jon* came to rule, they were named after his four ſons, *Geleontes*, *Ægicoreis*, *Argades*, *Hopletes* as *a Herodotus* and *b Euripides*. Though *Plutarch* ſaies that they were ſo called, *c* ἀπὸ τῶν χωρῶν οἷς ἐνεμήθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, from the courſes of life which they firſt took. But *Cliſthenes*, a man factious and wealthy, is ſaid by the Councel of *d Apollo*, *Alcmæon* being Archon, to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from ſome Demigods or *Heroes* born in that land, all except *Ajax*, whom though a ſtranger, he put to the reſt as a neighbour & companion. *e Herodotus*. Theſe then were called Ἐπώνυμοι; as you would ſay, giving names; the word ſo ſignifies ſometimes, as *Minerva* is ſaid by *Dion Chryſoſtom*, Ἐπώνυμος Ἀθηνῶν, who gave the names to *Athens*. To theſe were erected Statues neer the Councel place of the Senate. Their names are theſe, as *f Pauſanias* hath them: *Hippothoon*, *Antiocus*, *Ajax Telamonius*,

a In Terpſich. p. 137.
b In Ione verſus finem.
c In Solon. p. 65.
d Ariſtides T. 1. p. 336. A. T. 3. p. 352
e In Terpſich. p. 137.
f In Att. p. 4. 5.

nius, Leo, Erecθeus that slew *Immaradus* the Son of *Eumolpus* in the *Eleusinian* War, *Ægeus*, *Oeneus*, *Acamas*, *Cecrops*, *Pandion*. From these Ἱπποθοωντὶς, Ανηοχὶς, Αἰαντὶς, Λεωντὶς, Οἰνηὶς, Κεκροπὶς, παιδιονὶς. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus*, the other after *Demetrius* his name in gratitude to them for the favours received; which in process of time they changed into *Attalis*, and *Ptolemais*, as *Stephanus* writes, Διὰ τὴν ἐπωνύμων εὐεργετηθέντες Βασιλέων, having been courteously entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that *Livy* deceive us not, who at the time, when *Attalus* did succor the *Athenians* against *Philip*, saies, They first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the *Rhodii* rescued four fighting Ships of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and sent them home, *a Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda.* Thus have we seen that there were twelve Tribes in all: Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of Civil Government. *b Eustathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the year the four Tribes according to the four Quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call τριττὺς or φρατρία answerable to the twelve Months, each φρατρία or τριττὺς, into thirty ἡμῶν or kindreds, equalizing the daies. For so many only had the year of old. Witness the Riddle of *c Cleobulus* concerning the year.

* *These are reckoned among the Epanymos in Paus. p. 5. who had statues likewise.*

a Decad 4. l. 1. p. 6.

b In Il. C. pag. 181.

Εἷς πατὴρ, παῖδες ϛ΄ δυώδεκα· τῶν ϛ΄ ἑκάστῳ
παῖδες τριήκοντα διάνδιχα εἴδεσι ἔχουσι.

c Laertius p. 63. l. 1.

One Father had twelve Sons, & each Son thirty Daughters, and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over these were Governors, φυλοβασιλῆς, Kings of the Tribes, who sat upon Controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer called Τριτύαρχος the Ruler of the *Trittys* or *Phratria*. The word may seem to signifie a Society; Fellowship, or Com-

Company: it skils not whether you derive it from φατεία, *Euſtath*, or πατειὰ, as *Suidas*, or φρίαρ, as others which is a Well, becauſe they drew water from the ſame Well. For the place being ſcanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, there being but one well ſpring in *Athens*, they were conſtrained to uſe φρέασι πιστοῖς, digged Wells, as *d Plutarch.* φράτορες are the men of that ſociety, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the ſame Ward, ſpeaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his ſervants ſhould afford what they had, if any *Laciades* ſhould come into his Farm. In deſcription of which thing *Plutarch* uſes δημότας, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as συγγενὴς and συμφυλέτης) but *popularis*: Theſe at Feſtival days in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as *a Euſtathius* obſerves, and *b Pollux* (where they brought their Children to be engroſſed in their Books, as ſhall be hereafter ſpoken, with the reaſons thereof) φρατρίζειν, *Phratrizein*, from hence comes, which is τὸ εἰς φρατρίαν συνιέναι, to meet, for ſo *Euſtathius* in another place εἰς ταυτὸ συνιέναι. As for the φρὴν, or kindreds, we muſt not think that they were of one blood, but of that nere conjunction which they had each with other, being admited into this Society. Γένει μὲν (every Γένος or kindred conſiſting of thirty, whence they were named τριακάδες) ἢ περαιτέρω, οὐ δι' ἃ συνόδου ἕνεκα προσγραφόμενοι. Not of affinity ſo called, but for their Synod; which the Grammarians call σύστημα κοινωνικὸν a Comunicative familiarity, κοινωνία, being a participating in one thing, or having an equal ſhare in the ſame Priviledges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feaſts to be provided, wherein they ſhould kindly entertain each other. δεῖπνα φυλετικὰ, and φρατρικὰ *b Athenæus.* Τῶν δὲ νῦν λειπόντων περινοήσαντες οἱ νομοθέται τὰ τετραετηρικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Διάσια καὶ τὰ φρατρικὰ &c. Of Feaſts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica*, for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular.

d In *Solone* p. 65. l. 33.

d Illiad. β. pag. 181. & Il. ε. p. 629.

b Lib. 3, c. 4.

b Dipnoſoph. l. 5. p. 185. d.

Moreover

Moreover *Thiasos* for Colledges (as Philosophers for the death of their Grand Masters) and *Phratrica* for the same Ward. Hence Ἐστιάζειν τὴν φύλην, and ἐστιάζειν τοὺς θεράποντας. Of which in due time. The reason of this the *Dipnosophist* gives saying, That Wine hath ἑλκυστικόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, an attractive and perswading force to procure love and friendship.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος quid? Athenienſibus proprium habere δήμους. Quot? Templa & ſacra pagatim.

ALL *Greece* was inhabited κατὰ κώμας, as *e Thucydides* speaks by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word Comœdy. *d At verò nondum coactis in urbem Athenienſibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id eſt, Paſtorum vicinorumque præſidi Deo, conſtructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Atticæ vicos, villas, & compita feſtum carmen ſolemniter cantarent: orta eſt Comœdia* ἀπὸ τῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, *quod eſt, commeſſatum ire cantantes.* The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they ſung ſacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the Preſident to the *Sheepheards* and *Neighbours*, about the Villages, Houſes, and croſs ways of *Attica*, Altars being built in honor of the celebrity, ſprung up a Comœdy, ἀπὸ τῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, from revelling and ſinging. Others will have it derived from an ancient cuſtome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the ſtreet where the offender lived, and in the Night time to cry aloud, *a* Ὁδῖνα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὰ τὰ πράττει, θεῶν ὄντων, καὶ νόμων. *Such a one doth wrong, and commits ſuch and ſuch Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws*, by which theſe abuſes were reformed. But the *Anonymus* in a Preface to *Ariſtophanes*, ſayes, μὴ κώμας καλεῖσθαι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ δήμους, that they were not called κώμαι, or Villages by the *Athenians*, but δήμους, which they tranſlate

c Lib. 1.

d Donat. in Præf in Ter.

a Thomas Magiſter.

ſlate Populus, better in my mind, *oppida*, or Towns. *Cicero ad Atticum. Venio ad Peræea in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quod homo Romanus Piræea ſcripſerim non Piræum (ſic enim omnes noſtri locuti ſunt) quàm quod M addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præpoſui, ſed ut de loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt nobiſcum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidum eſſe Piræea, ſed de eo videro. Noſtrum quidem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quod non ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco: ſecutuſque ſum non dico Cæcilium, Mane ut ex portu in Piræum (malis enim auctor Latinitatis eſt) ſed Terentium cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis putabantur à Caio Lælio ſcribi.* Heri aliquot adoleſcentuli coimus in Piræum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captum de Sunio. *Quod ſi δήμους oppida volumus eſſe, tam eſt oppidum* Sunium *quàm* Piræus. If ſo be we will have δήμους to be Towns., *Sunium* as well as *Piræeus* is a Town. Theſe were formerly Kingdoms, as *c Pauſanias* teſtifies. Τύγχανεν δὲ δήμοι, ἃς ὠνόμαζον πόλεις, ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Κέκροψ. Moreover, I have written, that ſome of the Towns were governed by a King before the raign of *Cecrops*. And no marvel, for ſome of them far ſurpaſſed other Cities, as *Ariſtides* affirmeth. Theſe were moſt peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called ναυκλάρειοι, as *e Ariſtoph. Schol.* or Ναυκράριοι, as *f Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Cliſthenes* changed them into δήμους as out of *Ariſtotle* the *Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* The number of them is, *g Euſtathius* out of *Strabo* and *h Caſaubon*, an hundred ſeventy four. Some whereof having the ſame name are diſtinguiſhed according to their ſituations, κάθυπερθεν and ὑπένερθεν, as we may ſay the upper and lower *Wakefield*, *&c.* All of them are divided into Greater and Leſſer. The *i* μικροὶ or leſs are theſe, *Alimuſii*, *Zoſter*, *Proſpaltii*, *Anagyraſii*, *Cephale*, *Praſieis*, *Lampreis*, *Phlyeis*, *Myrrinuſii*, *Athmoneis*, *Acharnæ*, *Marathon*, *Brauron*, *Rhamnus*. The reſt were greater. Take them promiſcuous according to their Tribes.

b Lib. 7. Ep. 3

c Atticis p. 30 l. 42.

d In Panath. T. 1. p. 326.

e Nub. pag. 225. c.

f L. 8. p. 430.

g In Il. b. p. 215.

h In Athenæum l. 6. c. 9.

i Pauſan. Att. pag. 30.

KE-

ΚΕΚΟΠΙΣ.

Αιξωνη. Δαιδαλιδαι. Επικιδαι. Κυπητη. πιθος. Συπαλιττης. Τριτημεις. Αθμονον ἡ Αθμονια. Αλαι. Αξωνιδες. Φλυα. *Æxone. Dædalidæ, Epiecidæ, Xypete, Pithus, Sypalettus, Trinemei, Athmonon* or *Athmonia. Alæ. Æxonides. Phlya.*

ΕΡΕΧΘΙΣ.

Αγρυλη ἡ Αγρυλη. Ευωνυμια ἡ Ευωνυμος. Θημαχοι ἡ Θημαχος. Κυδισια. Λαμπρα. Καθυπερθιν. Λαμπρα ὑπενερθιν ἡ παραλιος. παμβωτιδαι. περγασή. Συβριδαι. φηγης. Αναγυρης. *Agraule* or *Agryle. Euonymia* or *Euonymus. Themaci* or *Themacus. Cephisia.* The upper *Lampra.* The lower *Lampra,* in which *Sigonius* erres, calling one the maritimate, the other the inferior, which to be one and the same I have shewed above. *Pambotadæ. Pergasæ. Sybridæ,* Phegus, *Anagyrus.*

παυδιονις.

Αγγελη. Κυδαθηναιον. Κυθηρον. Ὠα ἡ Ὠεις. παιανια. καθυπερθιν. παιανια. ὑπενερθιν. περσαλιθος. Στειρια. φηγαια. Μυρρινους. *Angele, Cydathenæum. Cytharum Oa* or *Oeis,* the upper *Pæania,* the under *Pæania. Probalinthus, Stiria. Phegæa. Myrrhinus.*

Αιγηις.

Αλαι. Αραφηνιδες. Αρρφω. Βατη Γαργηττιος. Διομεια. Ερεχθια. Ερικεια. Εχεια. Ικαρια. ἡ Ικαριος. Κολυττης. Κυδαντιδαι. πλωθεα. Τιθραι. Χυτροι. φιλαιδαι. Χολλιδαι. *Alæ Araphenides. Araphen. Bate. Gargettus. Diomea. Erechthia. Ericria. Echria. Ichria* or *Icarius. Ionidæ. Colyttus. Cydantidæ. Plothea. Tithras. Phegæa. Philæde. Chollidæ.*

Αχαμαντις.

Αγνης. Εικειδαι. Ερμης ἡ Ερμοι. Ηφαιστιαδαι. Οιειος. Ιπια. Κικυννα. Σφηττιος. Χολαργος. Χολαργοι. Χολαργια. Κεφαλη. παλλαδιον. Agnus Erisidæ. *Hermus* or *Hermi. Hephæstiadæ, Thoricus. Iteæ, Gicyana. Sphettus. Cholargus. Cholargi. Cholargia. Cephale. Prospalta.*

Λεοντις.

Αιθαλιδαι. Αιθαλια. Αφιδνα. Δημαλης. Ερχια. Ευπυριδαι. Κυτηροι.

Κρωπία Λαδκίνιον. Ὄιον. Κίκυννα. Παιονίδαι. Πήληκες. ποταμὸς Σκαμβωνίδαι. Σύνιον. Ὕβα. Ὑβάδαι. Φρεάρριοι. Μαραθών. Ἀλιμοῦς. Æthalida. Æthalia. Aphidna. Dirades. Hecale. Sypyradæ. Cetti. Cropia. Leuconium. Oeum. Ceramicum. Pæonidæ. Pelaces. Potamus. Scambonidæ. Sunium. Hyba. Hybadæ. Phrearri. Marathon. Alimus.

Ἰπποθωντὶς.

Ἀζηνιεῖς. Ἀμαξαντεῖα. Ἀνάκαια. Ἀχερδοῦς. Δεκέλεια. Ἐλαιοῦς. Ἐλαιοῦσσα. Ἐλαιοῦς. Ἐρεσίδαι. Θυμοιτάδαι. Κηφισιάδαι. Κορυδαλλός. Ὄιον. Δίκαια. Οἰνόη ἐλαιοῦς Σφηττόθεν. Azenia. Amaxantea. Anacæa. Achardus. Decelia. Aleæus. Eleusis. Areadæ. Thymætadæ. Cariada. Corydallus. Oecum Decelicum. Oeum ad Eleutheras. Sphendale.

Αντιοχὶς.

Αἰγιλία ἢ Αἴγιλος. Ἀλωπεκὴ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. Ἀμφιτροπή. Ἀναφλύστιοι. Ἀτήνη. Ἀτηνία. Βῆσσα. Θορικὸς. Κριὸς. Λευκόπυργος. Μελαινεῖς ἢ Μέλαιναι. Παλλήνη. Πεντέλη. Σφηττία. Φάληρον. Ægilia or Ægilus. Alopece or Alopecæ. Amphitrope. Anaphlystus. Atene or Atenia. Bessa. Thoræ. Crion. Leucopyro. Melenæ or Melænæ. Pallene. Pentele. Samachidæ. Phalerum.

Αἰαντὶς.

Οἰνόη Μαραθ. Τετραπόλεις. Τειτύθεν. Ραμνοῦς. Oeme at Marathon; Titacidæ. Tricorythus. Rhamnus. Of this tribe were some towns taken away & put to other, Aphydnæ, Perfidæ, &c.

Οἰνῆὶς.

Βύτεια, Βυτάδαι. Ἐπικηφισία. Οἰὰ ἢ Οἰεῖς. Ἱπποτομάδαι Λακία, Λακιάδαι. Λυκαβ. Μελίτη. Ὄη ἢ Ὄιον. Φιλαϊδαι. πτελέα. Φυλὴ. Ἄχαρνα. Τυρμίδαι. Butea. Butadæ. Epicephisia. Tria or Thrio. Hippotomadæ. Lacia. Laciadæ. Lusia. Melite. Oe or Æa. Peritheadæ Ptelea. Phyle, Acharna. Tyrmidæ.

Πτολεμαΐς.

Βερενικίδαι. Θυργωνίδαι. Berenicidæ. Thyrgonidæ. Κορθύλη. Corthyle.

Ατταλὶς.

Ἀπολλωνιῆς. Apollonienſes. Theſe are all which Authors make

make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me. But these are they. *Agra. Anchesmus. Amphiade. Archilia. Astypalæa. Atalanta. Achradus. Belbina. Brauron Brilessus. Enna. Echelidæ. Zoster. Trion. Calæ. Cedæ. Cothocidæ. Cocle. Cynosarges. Ceramicus* without the City, the same with *Academia. Laurium. Lenæum. Limnæ. Munychia. Parnes. Pnynx. Patroclus* his ditch or trench. *Scirum. Spargilus, Hydrusa. Hymettus. Hysiæ. Phaura. Phormisii. Phrittii. Phoron. Chitone. Oropus.* To which are put the Ilands called *Pharmacusæ*, two in number, and *Pfytallia*. The Scholiast of *a Aristophanes* speaks as if *Io* were a *Demus*, but I say not with him. The greatest use we have of these among Authors, is in their form of Law, matters of contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud or deceit, that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we such punctual clauses in their Writs. N. the son of N. dwelling at *Alopeca*, ὁν Κοίλης, ὁν Μελίτης. ὁν Κεραμέων. of *Calæ*, of *Melite*, of *Cerameis*. In these villages were Temples of the Gods. b *Livie. Templa pagatim sacrata.* And again, *Delubra sibi fuisse, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis viisque consecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores sui deserta relinquerent.* So much witnesseth c *Pausanias*, who tells us, that they worshipped some peculiar Deity; and yet nevertheless did τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγαν ἐν τιμῇ, honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar Festivals, as *Brauron* the solemnities *Brauronæa*, to *Diana Diomea*, to *Jupiter Diomæus*, *Chitonia*, &c.

a In Ranis p. 235.

b Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 12. 13.

c In Atticis 77. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τυραννὶς. Ολιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. *Athenienſium ſtatus mutatio.* Ιρὶνς Σωτῆρον Μίγας. Δὲξ.

THe ancients had but three ſorts of government. *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia*, as *d Æſchines*, which *Polybius* cals βασιλείαν, ἀριστοκρατίαν, δημοκρατίαν where although the one names it a *Tyrannis* or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία, the rule of a King, yet muſt we underſtand the ſame. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath obſerved. A word taken up by the *Græcians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer* nor *Heſiod* knew; & therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἰδιόφρονα πατροβόρτας, for calling the Kings, or βασιλῆς befor the Trojan Wars, Tyrants or Tyrannos. Βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obeyſance is free, yielded rather out of a good advice, then for fear or might. Αριστοκρατία and Ariſtocratie, when moſt wiſe and juſt men are fitly choſen to fit at the Helm of the Weal publick. Δημοκρατία a Democracie, when the Laws and cuſtomes of the Country in matters both belonging to Gods and men are truely obſerved, and that rules the roſt, which ſhall be appoved of by the greater part, τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσι ſaies *Polybius*; as that may be ſaid at a banquet to pleaſe all, which doth reliſh well with the moſt. But the grave hiſtorian hath obſerved changes in ſuch goverment, as they uſe to be inclining to the worſt; Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies, as when the people are led away by the perſuaſions of ſome pleaſing *a* popular man, and are as it were, willingly conſtrained to take the yoke that his uſurping authority ſhall lay on them; a Tyrant indeed ſaid, *b Vi conſecutus*, who gets it by violence, *c Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate*

d In Creſiphontem pag. 4.

a Ariſtot. l. pol. l. 5. c. 4.
b Probus in Miltiade.
c Probus ib. p. 17.

bertate uſa eſt. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetual authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which cauſing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an *Ariſtocratie*, or goverment of the beſt men, ſuch as are well brought up & exerciſed in vertue. The end of an *Ariſtocracie* being as *b Ariſtotle* hath it, *Vertue*, which is of no long continuance doth ſoon degenerate, ἐις ὀλιγαρχίαν πλησίους ὄντ' φύσιν, naturally inclining to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. Theſe few being choſen accordiug to their riches. And becauſe that many in a ſtate cannot be wealthie, therefore the number of them cannot be great. Theſe are great Lords and little Kings, whoſe power ſwaies all, and not the Lawes, who unjuſtly favour thoſe that are partially theirs, and oppreſs them that would defend their liberty againſt them. All things being adminiſtred *f* πρὸς τῶν ἀρχόντων, by their preſidents. Such dominion is taken away by the people ſet on a rage, not bearing τὰς τῶν προεστώτων ἀδικίας, the injuries of their Rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* cals ὄνομ' τὸ πλῆθος λόγον, the power of a multitude, whoſe end is freedome, when all can equally partake of the ſame priviledges and immunities, who are true Citizens: whence *Terence* ſtiles it *æquam libertatem*; of which the *Greek Orators* have properly uſed the word πολιτεία, as *g Ulpian* obſerveth. But the vulgar for the moſt part ſtrangely inſolent, prone to wrong, and readie to treſpaſs againſt the Laws, bring in by a miſerable proceeding, the worſt kind of goverment an *Ochlocratie*, the Rule of Raſcalitie. All theſe in their times did *Athens* feel, for they were governed by Kings four hundred eighty ſeven years: the laſt of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorienſes* and *Athenians* offered himſelf willingly to be ſlain, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorienſes* ſhould be conquerours unleſs the *Athenian* King were killed; he therefore cloathing himſelf *famulari veſte ne poſſet agnoſci*, ſaies *a Cicero*, with a ſervants habit leaſt he ſhould be known

b Pol. l 4. c. 9

c Pol. l. 4 c. 9.

f Æſchines in Ctef.

g In Demoſt. pag. 59.

a Tuſc. Q. l. 11.

known, put himſelf among the enemies, by one of which in a brawle he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, *b quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum eſt*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled; in the Title ἄρχοντες, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whoſe authority was for tearm of life. Theſe continued three hundred and fifteen years. Theſe being ended, it pleaſed the State to chooſe a man, whoſe office ſhould continue but tenne years; ſeaven ſucceeded each other, and made up the number of ſeaventy yeares; who, becauſe they abuſed their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore *c annui Magiſtratus*, yearly Magiſtrates. Theſe continued until *Piſiſtratus* for a feigned fear of the Seditious, begged a guard of the people for his ſafety. For when the Faction ſprung up, of which I have ſpoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himſelf with laſhes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν, and beſeeching the people to afford him ſome defence againſt their violence, who did (but did not) aſſault him, procured a company of choſen Citizens, who armed with clubs, not weapons, poſſeſſed the Caſtle, and ſo Tyranny came in, which *Piſiſtratus* enjoyed *d* thirty years, and deceaſed, leaving behind him two ſons, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Theſſalus*. *Hipparchus* was ſlain by *Ariſtogiton*, after whoſe death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny four years, from which they were delivered by the help of the *Lacædemonians*, the offspring of *Alcmæum* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whenſoever they came for counſel he ſhould wiſh them to free the *Athenians* of that ſervitude. The *Democracie* came in eight hundred ſixty eight years after *Cecrops*, eſtabliſhed by *Solon*, who excluded the fifth ranck of plebeity from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Ariſtides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sici-*

b Juſtin. l. 2.

c Juſtin. l. 2.

d Heraclides in Pol.

e Herodotus l. 5. p. 135.

ly

ly the Τετρακόσιοι or four hundred took upon them ſtate, deceiving the people, as *f Ariſtotle* and *Thucidides* affirme. For perſwading them that they ſhould reconcile *Tiſſaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themſelves by that means, and that the Perſian Monarch would afford ſupply for the War, they moſt willingly condeſcended to this motion in the one and twenty year of the *Peloponneſian* War. Theſe Princes were called *a* πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακόσιοι δ' ὄντες, Five thouſand, though not exceeding four hundred. The reaſon is, becauſe they boaſted that none ſhould be rewarded, but who bare arms; nor any admitted to publick power but five thouſand, ſuch as with perſon and eſtate could be beneficial to the Republique. There authority was granted by an *b* Act of the *people*, to which *Theremanes* was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive out; whereupon they termed him Κόθορνον *Cothurnum*, from a kind of ſtart-up which did fit both feet. ἢ γὰρ ὁ Κόθορνος ἀμφοτέροις μὲν πῆ ποδὶ ἁρμόττει δεξιῷ. The word may ſute with a Jack of both ſides. Theſe Τετρακόσιοι were conſtrained for fear of *d Alcibiades* to reſign the right unto the people, and to go into wilful baniſhment. But when *Lyſander* had overcome *Athens* (the *e Lacedemonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the *Athenians* a *Democratie*) he ordained theſe thirty to be cheif. *f Polyarches*, *Critias*, *Melobius*, *Hippolocus*, *Euclides*, *Hiero*, *Mneſilocus*, *Chremo*, *Theramenes*, *Areſias*, *Diocles*, *Phædrias*, *Charileos*, *Anætius*, *Piſo*, *Sophocles*, *Eratoſthenes*, *Charicles*, *Onomochles*, *Theognis*, *Æſchines*, *Theogenes*, *Cleomedes*, *Eraſiſtratus*, *Phido*, *Dracontides*, *Eumathes*, *Ariſtoteles*, *Hippomachus*, *Mneſithides*. Theſe began at firſt to put to death the worſt and moſt abhorred, ſaies *g Saluſt*, without trial of law; but afterwards the good and bad alike; *h* ſome for envy, others for riches. Theſe to make their party firm, choſe about three thouſand to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, diſarming all the reſt, to the end they might eaſily command their lives. But by their lawes (for they made ſome

f Pol. l. c. 57. *g* Lib. 8.

a Plat. in Alcyb p. 148.

b Xen. Ελλ. β. 274. l. 38.

c Xen. p 273

d Juſtin. l. 5.

e Ariſt. Pol. l. 5. c. 7.

f Xen. Ελλ. β. p. 270.

g In Catil. Conſp.

h Xen. p. 272

i Xen. p. 273. some, ſtiled *i* καινοὶ νόμοι, which were nullified by a decree, (as we ſhall ſpeak hereafter) none was to ſuffer ὀντὸς καταλόγου, who was Regiſtred in the Liſt of three thouſand. So cruel were they, that the people fled into *k Phyle* a Caſtle in the *k* Dem. p. 467 *Athenian* borders; and making an head under the conduct of *Thraſybulus*, at laſt ſhook off this yoke, and remained free untill the death of *Alexander*, even fourſcore yeares, whom *Antipater* ſucceeded; who in Battle at the City *Lamia* gave the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gave them quarters on theſe terms, that they ſhould ſubmit to a few *Peers*, whoſe Revenues amounted to two thouſand *Drachmes* at leaſt, the chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalareus*; that they ſhould likewiſe receive a garriſon into *Munychia* for the aſſwaging of riots and uproars. But four years after, *Antipater* dying, the City fell into the power of *Caſſander*, of whom they often ſtrove to acquit themſelves. But in vain. For he brought them to ſuch an exigency, that they were glad to come to compoſition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giving them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, ſo that they would be confæderates to him, that none, whoſe Revenues comes not to ten *minæ* or pounds, ſhould undergoe any function in the Common-weale; and he ſhould be their Overſeer whom he would be pleaſed to nominate. The *a* Vide Laert. in vita, & Strabonem. man appointed was *Demetrius Phalareus*, *a* who made the City to ſhine in her full luſtre, inſomuch that they erected in honor of him three hundred Statues. He wrote a Treatiſe of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would have given no ſmall light to my poor endeavours. After he in trouble and vexation had ſpent fourteen years, he was put out by *Demetrius* the Sonne of *Antigonus*, ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, who reſtored the ancient Cuſtomes to them again. To him they aſcribed ſuch worſhip, as alſo to his Father, that they changed the name of their *Judge* from *Archon* into *b* Σωτῆρων Ἱερεὺς. The Prieſt of the Gods that ſaved them, calling the year after his name, and adding *b* two Tribes to the

b Plut. in Demetrio.
c Pollux. l. 8.

the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as *c Stephanus*. But when *Cassander* had overthrown the Sonne and Father, such was the ingratitude and levity of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach near their City. After this *Lacharis* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming again the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gonatas* succeeded, who in the nineteenth year of his reign put in presidiary souldiers to the City, which tenne years after he took out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the *Athenians* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.* & *Antigonus Doson*, out of whose hands *d Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the City, and made it stand by it selfe untill *Philip*, the last King of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did somewhat shake it, as you may read in *e Livie*. But he was expelled by the Romans, who took the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained until the Warre between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*. For by fear they were driven to receive *f Archestratus, Mithridates* his General, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded ἀνειλὶς φονὴ, a mercilesse slaughter, sayes *Appian*, that the *g* streets did runne with blood. But the Laws were not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they lived in a near resemblance of their former state; in favour with the *Roman* Emperors; *Julius Cæsar, Adrian, Antonius, Gallienus*, in whose successours time, *Claudius*, the second of that name, this City was ransacked by the *Gothes*, who when they had heaped up innumerable companies of Books to burn, were dehorted by this reason, *that the Greeks, spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for War*. *Constantine* the *Great*, likewise had this City in high esteem, taking to himself the Title of Στέμματος Ἀθηνῶν, as *b Julian* sayes, which in the words of *Nicephoras Gregoras* is τὸ μεγάλου δυκὸς (ὄνομα) the *Grand Duke*, whom simply afterwards

c In Berenice

d Plut. in vita.

e Decad. 4. l. 1

f Vide Appianum Alex. in Mithridatico circa, p. 122. 133. &c.

g Plut. in vita p. 335.

a Cedrenus Baptistæ Egnatius. Rom. Prin. l. 1.

b In Oratione Constantium

c Hist. Rom. l. 7. p. 166.

wards they called the d *Duke of Athens*, in that Historians time. Emperours have taken them wives, Citizens of this place, and the e daughters of their *Dukes* have been desired by that eminent ranck. And indeed no marvel. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus*, is said to have taken the City from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, ἔσχον δὲ ἢ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἰβῆρες; who having no issue male of his wife *Eubois*, but an illegitimat named *Antonius*, by another woman, bequeathed by will *Bœotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the * *Venetians*, from whom his Son recovered it againe. *Nerius* succeeded him in the *Dukedome* who thrust out *Chalcocondylas* his Father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second got *Athens*, g whose beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius* from those above named dying, leaving one sonne an Infant, his Mother in the childs Title exercised Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (sonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose government the City *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas*, *Priamus*) who came thither for Merchandize. Him, by discourse and flattery, she entised into her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the Princedome of *Athens* unto him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition, and thirsty of honour. Which being done, he returns to *Athens*, Marries this woman, enjoys the government of the City; who being hated of the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himself the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court; where *Francus Acciajolus* waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the Emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enstalled, imprisoned

d Hist. Rom. l. 7. p. 157.
e Nic. Greg. lib. citat.
f Calcocon. μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ Νικόλαος
* *In the time of* Pietro Zani *came Ambassadors from* Athens *to do homage to the* Venetian Senate. *M.* Leukenor *in history and lives of the Venetian Princes*
g Chalcocon. l. 9. p. 299.

prisoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by means not known to the *a* Author) slew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from men by *Zogan* governour of *Peloponnesus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the Citie to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the last Duke.

a Chalcocon pag. 300.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAP. I.

Duodecim Dii Athenienſium, Idolatria ſeptifariam commiſſa. Dii Adſcriptitii. Θεὸς ἄγνωστος.

HErodotus in *a Terpſicore* is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their Religion from the *Ægyptians*. But *b Plutarch* doth ſtoutly deny it. And not without good teſtimony may I affirm that it ſeems to be a falſitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the Myſteries of Piety into *Greece*; who was himſelf a *Tracian*, from whom the word θρησκεία is ſuppoſed to be drawn, which ſignifies devotion. Τῶν ἐν τὸ τιμᾶν θεὸς ἐκάλεσαν θρήσκειν, ὡς θρεκίας ἴσης τ' εὐρέσεως, ſaies *d Nonnus*. They called θρησκεύειν, to worſhip God, &c. Appoſitely to which *e Ariſtophanes* ὁν Βατράχοις.

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνου τ' ἀπέχεσθαι. *Orpheus ſhewed us Sacrifices, and to abſtain from ſlaughter.* Neither is *f Euripides* diſagreeing in *Rheſo*.

Μυςηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς.

Ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς—— *Orpheus revealed the hidden myſteries.* *Herodotus* names not the Gods, the worſhip of whom the *Greeks* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelve in number

a Pag. 48.

b In Tracta περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας. p. 669.

c Sch. Eurip. in Alceſt. pag. 661.

d ξωαγ' ἴσης in Stel. 1.

e Pag. 260.

f Pag. 281.

number they were, quoth he, but these only are reckoned. *Jupiter. Bacchus. Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Isis* or *Ceres. Sais* or *Minerva. Latona.* as I have gathered, which all at once to have been made known to the *Greeks*, and that by the *Ægyptians* is two hard a task for me to prove. The *Athenians* I am sure had twelve Gods in especial honour, whose pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; and had an Altar erected, called *b* Βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* War, a man dismembred himself with a stone; which was accounted prodigious. By these twelve would they swear in common discourse. *i* Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς. The Heathens thinking that they did honour those Gods by whom they swear; as I have elsewhere spoken. But they were not confined to so small a number as twelve. For how could it be when they ran through the seaven sorts of Idolatrie? First worshipping the Sun, & punishing with death the neglect thereof, as you may read in *i Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly Deifying the effects of God, as bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets Δηὼ, *Ceres* ἀπὸ τοῦ σῖτον corn or food. Thirdly the poetical Gods. *Furies and revengers of wickedness*, as *Alastores*, *Palamnæi*. Fourthly, the Passions, as *Love. Pittie. Injurie* likewise and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fiftly the accidents of growth and nourishment, hence *Auxo*, and *Thallo* two deities, αὐξάνειν, to increase, and θάλλειν to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos* the three fatal sisters, and Ἑιμαρμένη, *Necessitie*, taken sometime for Death itself. 6ly, the Theogonie or pedegree of their Gods, able to make up the summe of which *Homer* speaks, Τοὺς δ' ἄνευθ', &c. Three thousand. Seaventhly, an ignorance of the Providence & bounty of God toward them, feined *Hercules* the repeller of evil, and *Esculapius* the God of Physick. And if this serve not, I can add an eighth way, namely hospitality and good entertainment of strange Gods. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦντες διατελοῦσι, ὅτω

g Paus. Attic. p. 3. l. 8.
b Plut. in Nicia. p. 387. l. 26.
i Aristoph. Eq. p. 300. A.
k Vide Bodinum in Demonologia.

a Pag. 471. καὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν. saies *a Strabo*, as the *Athenians love forrainers, so forraine Gods.* Οὐ γὰρ μόνον περὶ πρεσβυτάτας ἄγει τὰς θεῶν, &c. *b Aristides.* For they serve not only the most ancient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but have assumed adventitious ons; such as *Orthane, Coniſsalus*, and *Tychon.* So prone were they to conceive Superstition, that when *d Paul* preached *Jesus and the Resurrection of the dead*; they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection to be a God. And least they should omit any, they erected Altars to the unknown Gods, of which *i Pausanias*: Neither may we doubt of it, the Scriptures bearing witness. The cause of this they say to be a fearful vision appearing to *Philippides*, sent Ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that he (*f Pan*, from whom *panicum spectrum*) was neglected, and other Gods worshipped; promising likewise his help, they therefore being victorious, and fearing the like event, built a Temple, and Altar TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a Plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have sent the Disease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ασίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης, θεῷ Ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWN AND STRANGE GOD. As *Justin* g *Martyr* and *Oecumenius.* Much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and Houses, much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in order,

b In Panath. T. 1. p. 188.

c Strab. p. 587.

d Act. Apost. c. 17. v. 18.

e In Attic. p. 1. l. 35.

f Vid. Eurip. Sch. in Med. p. 482.

g Pag 137.

CAP.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεὺς. Νέμι☉. Ἱκέσ☉. πολιοῦχ☉. Βουλαῖ☉. φράτρι☉. φίλι☉. Ὁμόγνι☉. Καταβάτης. Ἕρκει☉. Ἀγοραῖ☉. ξένι☉. *Modii salis edendi, Tessera hospitalis seu Symbolum. Apollo* ἀποτρόπαι☉. πατρῷ☉. Ἀλεξίκακος. θυραῖ☉ *Paean, & ejusdem verbi origo. Mercurius.* παλισφάκτ☉. Εὐάνι☉. Στροφαῖ☉. πυλαῖος.

ABove other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden to dissolve their Kingdomes, they were charged to make choice of *Jupiter*, *a* προσήκειν ἢ Διὶ Βασιλείᾳ. And so by *b Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς. Him they worshiped as *President of Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter* c *Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* named Νέμει☉) Him as *God of supplicants*, hence *d* Ἱκέσι☉, him as *Protector of Cities*, hence πολιοῦχος. Him as *Governour and director of their counsels*, hence Βουλαῖος. Him as *chief of their Societies*, hence φράτριος, and of their friendship too, hence φίλιος; and of kindred likewise, hence ὁμόγνιος. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence *e* Ζεὺς Καταβάτης, as much as coming down in Thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, hence *f* Ἐλευθέριος. Him they confessed the *greatest of all*, hence *g* ὕπατος. Him *the overseer of their buying and selling*, hence *Ἀγοραῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the *courts of their houses*, hence *Jupiter Herceus*, from Ἕρκος a wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the house. *Phavorinus.* Ἑρκεῖος Διὸς βωμὸς ἔξω τῆς θύρας πλησίον αὐλῆς, ἄθυτος δὲ θύεται, ὃν καὶ ἕδιον καλοῦσι ἱερέα τοῦ ἕρκους. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which *h Ovid.*--*Ante ædes stabat Jovis Hospitis ara*, hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the *God of strangers and hospitality*. So solemne were they in their entertainments, that

a Sch. Aristoph. p. 122
b In Nubibus
c Dem. in Mid. p. 251.
d Ulpian in Dem. p. 273.
Paus. p. 18. l. 40. *Who thinks* Sylla *to be eaten with lice by a judgment, that slew* Aristion *suppliantly flying to the Temple of* Minerva.
e Aristoph. Avib. p. 626.
f Plut. & Paus.
g Pausan.
* Aristoph. p. 317.
h Metamorph

that they would not receive a ſtranger without great ceremonies, ſuch as giving of the right hand each to other *i* πιστώσεως δηλωτικόν, a moſt certain ſign of fidelity and ſecurity; as alſo waſhing and cleanſing with ſalt, or ſalt water, as *k* Tzetzes on *Lycophron*; whence it is called ἅγιος πόρος. Salt they highly eſteemed of, ever upbraiding violated hoſpitality with *l* πῦ ἅλες, &c. where is the ſalt? And yet it may be thought to be ſaid of the community of the table *m* ἐθῶν τῶν δηλούντων μὴ κακουργεῖν τοὺ ὁμοτραπέζους καὶ συνεσίους, cuſtomes ſhewing that fellow commoners, and ſuch as feed on the ſame table muſt not injure one another, to which the old ſaying may well agree, *n multos modios ſalis ſimul edendos eſſe, ut amicitiæ munus expletum ſit*, Men muſt eat many buſhels of ſalt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendſhip is not to be ſoon eſtabliſhed. But I take ſalt, of the luſtration, to which alſo they added fire, as you may ſee in *o Ariſtophanes*. Neither was this all, for they ſacrificed moreover, calling *Jupiter* to witneſs, and uſing theſe words in the time of ſacrifice. *p* Εἰς δία ξένιον ἁμαρτὼν, εἰ φροντῶ ξένους. *Let my treſpaſs be againſt Jupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemn, or neglect ſtrangers.* And for the continuation of this, even to their poſterity they were wont to cut a huckle bone in two, the one party keeping one piece, the other party the other half, that when occaſion or neceſſity ſhould make either of them ſtand in need of other, *q* ἐπαγόμενοι τὸ ἥμισυ ἀσφάλειον, ἀνανεώσωντο τὴν ξενίαν, *bringing with them their half bucklebone they might renew their hoſpitality.* This they call σύμβολον, *Symbolum* a token, which ſometimes they would ſend to their acquaintance in others behalf, as *Jaſon* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to do. Πέμπειν τ' ξένοις σύμβολ' ὅτι δέξωνται σ' οὐ. And to ſend a *Symbolum* or token to ſtrangers that ſhall courteouſly entertain you. But of this enough, as alſo of *Jupiter*, whom celebrated in *a* other Epithites I know by the *Athenians*. *Apollo* was next in requeſt to *Jupiter*, invocated in *danger or ſudden events*, hence *b* Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπειν, to turn away, as if he

i Euſtath. in Il. Σ.

k Pag. 27. *But* Euſtath *ſayes that they did ſet ſalt before any other meat to ſtrangers.*

l Demoſth. pag. 241.

m Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28

n Gic. de Amicitia. Euſtath. *ſayes, that it betokens love permanent. For ſalt preſerves And as it is made of many lettings in of water, ſo they who come from divers places by hoſpitality are made one.* In ἰλα. p. 100.

o In Acharn. pag. 414. vide Sch.

p Euſtath. in Il. λ.

q Eurip. Sch. pag. 446.

a As πολιεὺς Ariſtophan. ὄμβριος. Pauſan. &c.

b Ariſtoph. πλ. p. 86.

he ſhould deliver them from eminent evil, for which reaſon he is called *Alexicacus*, c *Apollinem aſpellentem mala intelligas, quem Athenienſes* Ἀλεξικακὸν appellant. He was one of the firſt Gods they had, hence he is termed *d* πατρῷος, but *e* others think becauſe he was the father of *Ion*. f *Macrobius* is of opinion, becauſe the *Sun*, the ſame with *Apollo*, is the Author of progenerating all things, *quòd ſol humoribus exſiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit cauſam.* To him ſtood Altars in their ſtreets, hence is he ἀγυιεύς, as if he were ſet over their ways, g *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomœria ſunt* ἀγυιὰς. This *Agyieus* was a ſharp pillar. *b* κίων ὀξὺς ἔστω ἵνα εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων. Although the *Greeks*, as i *Macrobius* ſayes, did worſhip him as θυρεῖον, *exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the doors of their houſes, yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pauſanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which, though I have taken occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere, yet this is a moſt proper place. I will not trouble you with the trivial derivations of the *Greeks*, which you read in *k Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the Oracle at *Delphos* againſt the *Amazons*, in the days of *Theſeus*. The God bid them implore his ſuccor in theſe words, ἰὴ παιάν. l *Hanc vocem, id eſt,* ἰὴ παιάν, *confirmaſſe fertur Oraculum Delphicum Athenienſibus, petentibus opem Dei adverſus Amazonas, Theſeo regnante. Namque inituros bellum juſſit his ipſis verbis ſemetipſum auxiliatorem invocari, hortarique.* I doubt not but the words are changed ſomewhat, eſpecially if we conſider the ancient *Jo Pæan*. *Pæan*, ſays the *m Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes* is a ſong or hymme praying for the ceaſing of a Plague, or war, nay, for the preventing of apparent hurt. The original of *Jo* m *Scaliger* hath already found, *Jao* & *Jo* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Jehova*; *Pæan* then comes from פָּנָה to look, ſo that *Jo Pæan* is in force *Jehovah Penoh.* LORD LOOK UPON US, it being a craft of the Devil to come as near as poſſible he may to God, ſo to bereave him of his dear honour, if he could. The remnants of theſe words the *o Symerons*

c Macrob. Sat. 1 p. 253.
d Ariſtoph. Nub. p. 203.
e Ariſt. Sch. p. 611. g.
f Satur. 1. p. 257.
g Macrob. Sat. 1. c. 9.
b Schol. Eurip. Phæ. p. 322.
i Sat. 1. c. 9.
k In fin. lib. 14. Dip.
l Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 17. p. 253.
m In Plut. pag. 68.
n Græc. Trag.
o Vide *Sir* Fr. Drake.

a people of the West Indies use, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and sing *Tó Peho*: at this day *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of *p* παλιγκάπηλος or *q* Εμπολαῖος, deemed to be the God, whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow Rich, wherefore this God is termed *q* Ἐπίνιος, *very profitable*, from ἐπὶ, an augmenting word, and ὄνῶ to profit. He had a Statue erected to him in the Market place, called *a* Ερμῆς Ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houses was sacred to him, from which he is named *b* Προπύλαιος, as likewise Στροφαῖος from στρέφειν, to turn, because he was set up behind the door to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villany. More of his names you may read in *c Aristoph. Schol.*

p Aristop. πλ p. 110. Arch. pag. 410.

q Aristoph. βατ. p. 266.

a Aristop. p. 304.

b Paus. p. 20. l. 35.

c Pag. 100.

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule. ἄναντες.

Saturne was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witness the feasts kept in honour to him, called Κρόνια; witness a *Temple* d which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirm any thing. He seems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of *e* Κρονικαὶ γνῶμαι, *Saturniæ animæ*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which *f Demosthenes*: where was one of the *Athenian* prisons; some controuersies in law in it decided, as I gather out of *g Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this City, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in Navigation, hence *h* Ἀσφάλιος. *i Mars* also had his Worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a Dream appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the Sacriledge of one who had stollen a golden Cup out of his Temple: called therefore Μύστης or *Index Hercules*, as *k Tully*

d Paus. p. 16. l. 32.

e Aristop. πλ pag. 61.

f P. 536. n. 26

g περὶ τ. πρὸς Ἀφοβ.

h Aristoph. pag. 403.

i Paus. p. 7. l. 27.

k De divinatione. l. 1.

Neither

Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canoniz'd more daily, as the Sons of *Tyndarus*; *Castor* and *Pollux* naming them ἄνακτες. *l* ἀνακᾶς γὰρ ἔχειν τὸν ἐπιμελούμενον ἢ φυλάττοντα τι τῶν, καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἀνακτας διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι. For they who have a care & watch of any thing do diligently observe it ἀνακᾶς ἔχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἄνακτες, as keepers of their people. *m* The Scholiast of *Euripides* teaches us that ἄναξ properly signifieth a *Saviour*. So *Pan* is said to be Ἄναξ Κυλλήνης, *the Tutelar God of Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in *n* *Homer* χρύσης ἶρις ἀνάσσειν. The word is simply put for God in *o* *Aristophanes*, *p* τοὺς Διὸς Ἄνακτας καὶ Σωτῆρας καλεῖν. To these may be put *Harmonius* and *Aristogiton*. *Lycus*. *Theseus*. *Alon*. *Hesychus*. *Aristomachus* the Phlician. *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom see *q* *Meursius*) made of Men, as *Silanion* and *Perrasius* that made the Statue of r *Theseus*.

l Plut. Thes. p. 11. l. 25.
m In Hippol. p. 507.
n Iliad. α.
o In Avib. pag. 578.
p Eurip. Sch. p. 537.
q In Athen. Att. l. 3. c. 1. & 7.
r Plut. in Th. p. 2. l. 14.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Junone Promethio, &c.

Minerva the especial Deity of the *Athenians*, had the Festivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in *Meursius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose rites *longè maximis & occultissimis ceremoniis continentur*, *a* saies *Cicero*, were greatest and most hidden: therefore called *mysteria* from *b* μυεῖσθαι, to hide; *c* death and a curse lying on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *Meursius* in his *d Eleusinia*, of the initiation in these shews. They were of two sorts. *e* Greater to *Ceres*, less to *Proserpina*. *Bacchus* also the son of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted and a double tide holy to him: *Dionysia* f *parva* and g *Magna*. *Venus* had her honour and sacrifice in which they offered to her *h* mony the price of an whore. i *Eumenides* were first adored

s In Panath.
a In Panath.
b Nonnus ad Naz. συλ.
c Vid. Plut. in Alcib.
d Cap. 7.
e Aristoph. Sch. p. 85.
f Arist. p. 222
g Id. p. 123.
h Clem. Alex pag. 19.
i Vid. Æsch. in Eumen. & Sch. Sophin. Oed. Col.

dored by *Oreſtes* after he eſcaped the *Judgment* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemneſtra*. Theſe by k *Heſiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, the venerable Goddeſſes. To theſe they offered dink offerings, without wine though at midnight, a cuſtome peculiar to them alone, as m *Æſchylus* witneſſeth, though I am not ignorant that n *Bacchus* his feasts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nictellius*. But the Tragœdian,

Ο χ̓ νυκτίσιμνα δεῖπνα ἐπ' ἰσχάρας πυρὸς
Ἔδυσεν ὄρθρου λιγυρὸς κοινὸν Θεῶν.

Scholiaſt: ἐν δὲ τῷ μισονυκτίῳ μόνας Ἑστιᾶσιν ἀπάρχονται. By p *Sophocles* the manner of oblation is ſet down. Firſt having clean hands and pure, the worſhipper ought to draw out of a running fountain, water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed q νηφάλια μειλίγματα) the mouthes and ears of which are to be covered with the wool of a youg ſheep, turning himſelf towards the Eaſt, he powred out ſome of two of them, but the third wholy; then with both hands ſetting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he caſts his χοὰς, he uttered out his conceived ſupplications. Other ſacrifices they had as ſhall be ſhortly ſpoken. r *Hecate* was worſhipped by them in *triviis*, where three wayes met, ſuppoſed to be the Moon in Heaven, *Diana* on earth, & *Hecate* below. ſ To her the richer ſort every new Moon made a feaſt in the croſs waies ſetting bread and other proviſion, which the poor greedily fed on, and were ſo ravinous after, that t *Penia* in *Ariſtophanes*, complains that they ſnacht it, before it could be * laid down. Reference to this hath Ἑκαταῖα κλέπτειν, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in u *Demoſthenes*, which he ſeems to object as a ſordid or wicked thing. Indeed Σωμολόχος, which ſignifieth one that privily taketh away any of the ſacrifices from the altar, imports ſome times *impious*, Βωμολόχος ἀσεβὴς. *Schol.* * *Ariſtoph.* And yet the ſame Scholiaſt tels us that the needy ſuſtained themſelves by the ſacrifices. x ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἱερῶν δὲ οἱ πτωχοὶ ζῶσι. *Junoes* rites

were

k In Theogonia.
l Pauſ. p. 27. lib. 3.
m In Eumen. pag 295.
n Ariſtoph. p. 228.
o Loco citato.
p In Oedipe. Col. p. 271.
q Æſchylus loco præd.
r Vide Interp. Hor. in illud. ¡Diva triformis.
ſ Ariſtoph. Sch. p 63.
t Pag. 64.
u In Orat. πρὸς κόνων. p. 633. n. 59.
* In Nube p. 176.
x In Plut. 63.

were performed in great pomp with hair over their ſhoulders and down the back, in a veſture that ſwept the ground, their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces ſo minced, that *a* Ἡγεῖσθαι καλλίζωνον *Junonium incedere*, is to go ſtately. *Prometheus* was worſhipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with linkes or lamps, it may be in memorial of the fire, which ſuperſtitiouſly they believed him to have ſtole out of heaven. To ſay more of their Gods were needleſs either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of a later making, introducted by the *b Philippides*, and * Σφραγῖτιδες Νύμφαι. *Sphragitides Nymphæ* after the *Perſian* overthrow.

a Vid. Schol. tum in Proverb. Iſaac. Cauſab. in Athen. l. 12. c. 5. p. 388.

b Cl. Alex. pag. 22.

* Plut. Ariſt. p. 240. l. 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ ἀνθήλιοι. Ερμαὶ. *Phacaſiani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doors erected ſtatues which they called *c* Θεοὺς ἀνθηλίους becauſe they were expoſed to the Sun. Neither had they theſe alone, but certain others ſacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes*, *Hermæ Mercuriales*. The faſhion of them were divers. For firſt they were not ἀναπαμένοι, *porrecto veretro* but made after to that form by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelaſgi*, as *d Herodotus*. Neither did they want leggs, till the *Athenians* made them ἀκώλους, according to *e Pauſanias*. The manner was this, *A face of Mercury ſet upon a pillar of four Corners*. The head only and neck were ſhapen, and therefore it was called *truncbus Hermes*, f *Juvenal*,

Nil niſi Cecropides, truncoque ſimillimus Herme,
Nullo quippe alio vincis diſcrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput eſt, tua vivit imago.

For which reaſon likewiſe the *Greeks* name them *g* ἀγυιὰς, without limbs. On the lower parts of them were certain verſes engraven concerning the praiſes of ſome well deſerving

c Vide Heſychium, & Dionyſium Petavium in Themiſtum.

d In Euterpe p. 48.

e In Atticis d. 22. l. 14.

f Sat. v. 852.

g Vid. Ulpian in Dem. pag 332. & G. Langbain in Notis ad Longinum. περὶ ὕψους.

men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had merited, seem to me to have been set up in that Gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly known by Ἑρμῶν Στοὰ the Gallery of *Mercurials*. At the consecration of these they used some ceremonies, and sacrificed a kind of Gruel, which was of no great preparation; because they would not stand long about it. Hence χύτρας ἱδρύεσθαι may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but little. h *Aristophanes*. Χύτραζεν, ὥσπερ μαμφόμενον Ἑρμίδιον. *Schol.* Ἑρμίδιον, ἀντὶ τῆς ἐυτελοῦς, *in Pace*. Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unseasonable to add something of the form of their Gods; whom they made standing with their hands upward, as if they were more willig to receive then bestow any thing. To which *a Aristophanes* alludes, saying —χὦ γὰρ θεοὶ γνώσεσθ' ὅπῃ χρεὼν τὰς χεῖρας ἀγάλματων. Οἷον γὰρ εὐχώμεθα δίδοναι τι μεγαθὲ. Ἔσηκεν ὀρθίους τὰς χεῖρ' ὑπατίαν. Οὐχ' ὡς τι δώσων· ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται. *Even the Gods you shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them to give us some good thing, they stand with their hands upward, as if they would not send down something, but rather take oblation* To tell you likewise, that these Idols were cloathed, is no news doubtless to one meanly versed in the Greek antiquities. To say that they weare Shoes too is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phœcasiani*, from φαικάζειαι, a kind of low shoes which the *Athenians* called κονίποδας, from κόνις dust, and πούς the foot, because they were neer the ground. *b* Præd. l. 2. c. 11. p. 152. δὲ τὸ πολλάζον μοι δοκῶν τῇ κόνει τοῦ ποδὸς, saith *b Clemens Alexandrinus*. But more sure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. *c Juvenal*.

h Pag. 693.

a Concion. p. 747.

c Sat. 3. v. 217.

Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleti
Phœcasianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Superſtitione Athenienſium, & vaticiniis.

LOng ſince were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apoſtle for ſuperſtition, which though it properly ſignifies *d* a worſhipping of the Gods too much, yet under it theſe follies are comprehended. Purification after fearful dreams, in *e Ariſtophanes* ὄνειρον ἀποκλύζειν. In which ſenſe ſome underſtand *Perſius: Noctem flumine purgare.* Wearing of Rings againſt Witchcraft as a Spell, called *f* δακτυλίους φαρμακίτας. *g* Spitting into their boſoms thrice at the ſight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepſie.* Of which alſo *Theocritus*, τρὶς ἐς ὰμὸν πτύσαι κόλπον. I know not whether the cuſtome of our ſilly people have reference to this foppery, who uſe to ſpit at the naming of the Devil. Certaine it is, that anciently they did ſpit in defiance, hence πτύειν is put for καταφρονεῖν and ὀνειδίζειν λογίζεσθαι to continue or ſet little by, as the *b* Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* on theſe words, πτύσας ὡσεὶ δυσμενῆ. Waſhing with water the head as often as he ſhall go into the ſtreets ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς λούσασθαι; i *Theophraſtus.* Anointing of ſtones, divers it ſeems from thoſe heaps ſacred to *Mercury*, termed Ἑρμαῖαι. This hath been of old done indeed as a token of thankfulneſs by *k Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the ſtone that he put for his pillows, and ſet it up, and poured oyle on the top of it, in his journy to *Padan Aram.* Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a * black dog into their houſes, Serpents ſeen ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ſayes *Theophraſtus*, of which a *Terence. Introit in ædes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to theſe a *b* Cat or Weeſel (the word ſignifieth both) croſſing his way, the mouſe eating his ſalt bag. Not unlike them now adayes, whoſe cloths the Rats or Mice ſhall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he ſhall have great ill betide him

d Donat. in Ter. p. 67.
e Ranis pag. 274. vide & Æſch. in Perſis.
f Ariſtop. Pl. p. 88. f.
g Theoph. Ch. pag. 49.
h Antigonen.
i Charact.
k Gen. 28. 18
a In Phor. Ac. 4. Sc. 4.
b γαλῆ. Theoph.

him. Adde the avoiding of obſequies for fear of polluting, Antiquity was of opinion that ſacred perſons were defiled with the ſight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath obſerved, and *c Euripides* brings in *Diana* ſpeaking that it is not lawful for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay, the ſtanding upon a grave was great religion; ὀπιβῆναι μνήματι. Furthermore obſerving of days good and bad, of which *d Heſiod*, ἀλλὴ μητρυιὴ, ἀλλὴ δ' μήτης, that one is a ſtepdame, another a mother. *e* Amazement at the Eclipſe of the Sun, as alſo the *f* Moon; not knowing the reaſon, why ſhe did looſe her light at that time, when ſhe was in her full luſtre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted ſtones for the quicker delivery in child birth, in *Ariſtophanes*. ὠκυτόκια ὠνούμενος. Of the vertue I ſpeak nought. *g Boemus* relates, that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an herb when they are great with Child which makes them to bring forth without pain. Joyn to this the ſneezing over the right ſhoulder or the right ſide, *h* πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν. Obſervation of Διοσημίας, or ſudden ſtorms, as the *i Sch.* of *Ariſtophanes* interprets it, ſnow, haile, or the like. *k* Cutting off their hair, and ſacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephiſſus*. Marking the flight of the Owle, whence came the Proverb, *l* γλαῦξ ἵπταται, *The Owle hath fled*. And γλαῦξ ἵπταται for good luck. The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. *m* ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν γλαυκὸς νίκης σύμβολον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νομίζετο. They ever accounting it ſo, ſince the War at *Salamis*, where the *Greeks* ſeeing an Owle, took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana* ὁι Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ ταύτης διὰ μάχης ὑπερβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐνίκησαν. Other madneſs of theirs was ſleeping in the *n* Temple of *Æſculapius*, who were ill at eaſe, ſuppoſing the deity to give, or ſhew them a remedy, *o* for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock. If I miſtake not. What ſhall I ſay of *p* putting him to death who ſhould cut down an Oake or an Holme (ſo *Ilex* which in Greek is πευκίνον may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heroum*; And puniſhing *Atarbes* capitally who being diſtra-

&ed

c In Hip. p. 603. vide etiam Euſtath. in Ιλ. π.
d ὁι ἔργοις ᾧ ἡμ.
e Plut. Pericle pag. 123. l. 35.
f Plut. Nicia. p. 392. l. 21.
g Lib. 4. c. 11.
h Plut. Them p. 85. l. 23.
i In Ach. p. 379 & p 424
k Paul. Act. p. 35. l. 31. vide Euſt. in Il. B.
l Ariſt. Veſpiſ. p. 508.
m Zenobius.
n Ariſtop. p. 44. 65. T. 438.
o Perronius.
p Ælian. ποικ. l. 5. c. 17.

fted had ſlain a ſparrow ſacred to *Æſculapius*? Thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecyings. *Æſchylus* brings *Prometheus* on the ſtage, vaunting how firſt he taught men *Ονειροκριτικὸν. Οἰωνιστικὸν. Ἡπατικὸν εὐτικὸν. All which were practiſed among the *Athenians*, as you may read in a *Xenophon*. Ονειροκριτικὸν, *the interpretation of dreams*, is a reſolution of thoſe doubts which we conceive of things offered to our fancy in ſleep, as that of *Hecuba*, dreaming that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand; and that of *Atoſſa* before the fall of her ſonne *Xerxes*, whom ſhe ſaw ſtriving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greek* Woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed ὀνύπνιον ἰδεῖν. *Æſchylus*, aſcribing much to the truth of them, ſuppoſing them to be ſent from a Deity -- καὶ γὰρ ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἵεται. *b Homer*. The skill in them is ἐξ ὀνείρατων ἃ χρὴ πάσχοντα ἀγορεύεσθαι, καὶ δύναται τὰ δυσκρίτως γινόμενα σαφηνίζειν to truly tell the event. Which was no ſmall art: certain Books are written of that Subject. *d* καὶ σὺν ἐγγενεῖ τινες πίναξι ὀνειροκριτικαὶ as *Artemidorus* his *Onirocritica*. Οἰωνιστικὸν, *Sooth ſaying by Birds*, when ſuch or ſuch flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to ſhew what it doth Prognoſticate. *e Æſchylus*. Ταμίαι τε πάσης οἰωνῶν σκαθρῶς Διὸς ἔπιπτες δεξιοὶ φύσιν, Εὐώνυμοί τε, καὶ λίαν παρ' ἐλπίδα ἔχοντ' ἐμοὶ, καὶ πῶς ἀλλήλοις τίνες Ἔχθραι τε καὶ συμπνοιαὶ καὶ ζωαὶ εἶεν. It was formerly ſtiled *f* οἰωνὸς ἰσχὺς, ἅτε ὂν διανοίᾳ πεπεισμένων ἐνδεικτικὴ οἰήσεων σημείων which the mind doth ſuggeſt to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greek Writers, but moſt properly ὀρνιθοσκοπητικὸν, which *g Telegonus* is related to have found according to *Nonnus*; but according to *h Plinie*, *Car*, whence it is called *Caria*. Ἡπατικὸν, looking into the liver or entrals, like the Latines *extiſpicium*, obſerving the colour of them, λεῖον τὸ ποικίλων εὐμορφίαν; as likewiſe the ſoundneſs, hence takes as a prodigie λοβὸς οὐκ ἔχων κεφαλὴν, in *k Plutarch*, the extremity of the liver (like the outmoſt parts of the Vine leafe, ſays *Iſidore*) not to be ſeen, or rather that which they call the head,

* Vide Sch. pag. 32.

a Ἀπαρχ. *a.* initio.

b Iliad. 1.

c Æſchy. Pro. pag. 33.

d Euſt. in Il. *a* p. 36.

e Pag. 33.

f Ariſtides T. 3 p. 25.

g Nonnus Εὐναγ. l. 5.

a 6.

h Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

i Æſch. loco citato.

k Pag. 357. l. 31.

Ovid, cæſumque caput reperitur in extis. Θυτικὴν, in marking the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, *l* φλογοσκοπικὴν σήματα, the Tragœdian calls them, by which they could foretell events. More doubtleſs had they ways of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. Ἐνόδιον, as when one ſhall meet you carrying ſuch or ſuch things, then this ſhall befall you, *Æſchylus* terms them ὀνειδίους συμβόλους, *Sch.* πρὸς ἐξ ὑπαντήσεως. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum*, on theſe words, *Puer è triviis.* The Scholiaſt of *a Ariſtophanes* on ξύμβολον ὄρνιν, They made, quoth he, whom they met firſt, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation, which *b Sophocles* calls εὐφήμου στόμα φερνὶς Θ', wiſhing luck, as χαῖρε among the Greeks, and the Latines *c Eſto bonis avibus viſus, &c.* Συμβολον is put likewiſe for ſneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but ſacred to *d Ceres*, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that Ζήνωνα, which we intimate in our *God help you*, as often as we ſee any man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Diſeaſe, is ſufficiently evinced by *Caſaubon* on *Athenæus.* Οἰκοσκοπικὴν, at the ſight of a Mouſe, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the Houſe, or when the oyl Cruſe is dry, Hony, Wine, Water is ſpent, to gueſs at future things. Of this *e Xenocrates* wrote. Χειροσκοπικὴν, Palmiſtry, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of freeneſs in houſe-keeping, of Marriage and Poſterity, of which *f Helenus* once left a Monument. Παλμιστικὴν, gathered out of the ſhaking of the parts of the body, as the ſhoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kind *Poſidonius* was an Author expoſed to the world. Ἐγγαστριμυθία as that wherein the Witch of *Endor* was experienced, out of the loweſt parts of whoſe belly the Devil ſpake. The firſt that practiced this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are poſſeſſed with this Spirit of Prophecying, are called Εὐρυκλεῖδ, *Euriclitæ*, as the *g Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* who calls this Art *h* Εὐρυκλέους μαντεία, *the Divining of Eurycles.* Νεκυομαντεία, where after ſolemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the ſouls

l Æſch. loco citato.

a In Au. pag. 574.

b In Oed. Tyr. initio.

c Ovid. Faſt.

d Sch. Ariſt. loco citato.

e Nonnus in Naz.

f Nonnus.

g In Veſp. pag. 503.

h Ib. p. 502.

souls of the deceased, demanding of them what afterward should befal. As i *Wierus*, and no wonder, for they held the Spirits of their Parents and Kindred for Gods, *quibus sacrificabant* (saies *Bodin*) *& ad quorum sepulchra comedebant, in quos Scriptura invehens ac detestans, inquit, & comederunt sacrificia mortuorum*, to which they sacrificed, and at whose sepulchers they fed, against whom the Scripture inveighing & detesting, speaketh, *And they eat the oblations of the dead.* Of this l *Aristophanes* makes mention, and m *Homer* in his *Odysses.* This is that which most properly is called γοητεία from γόος lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, a for with great mourning they invocated κακοπολις δαίμονας, wicked Gods for the accomplishment of their divelish designes. It may most fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia*, b for so the Wizards divide them into the black & white Magick. Μαγεία from whence the word Magick is derived, seems to have been found by the *Medes* and *Persians*, whose Priests were called *Magi*, great Philosophers, as d *Laertius* is witness. This is supposed to be the good Magick. e Επίκλησίς ἐστι δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν, πρὸς ἀγαθῦ τινος σύστασιν φαρμακεία, is a giving of *Philtrum*, a Medicine for the procurement of Love or rather enraging of Lust, by bewitching something and giving it to be eaten, which to have power over Swine is credibly reported. Κοσκινομαντεία, Tricks with a pair of Sheers and Sive, of which *Theocritus.* f Ἀξινομαντεία· To take counsel of an Hatchet, taking and laying it on a piece of Timber flat-waies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty use of a key & Bible· Ἀστραγαλομαντεία, by casting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Children, Farmes &c. which answer to the quantity of the chance. Ἀλφιτομαντεία & Ἀλευρομαντεία, done by Corn, h Ἀειθμομαντεία, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two were to fight, & by value of them to judge the conquest, As they said of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles*, Ὀνιθομαντεία making a circle, they divided it into four and twenty parts,

i De Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 11.
k Dæmoniæ. l. 2. c. 3.
l In Avib. p. 613. d.
m Lib. λ.
a Nonn. in Naz.
b Vid. Bodin.
c Vide Non.
d In Procem.
e Nonnus.
f Vid. Odyss.
g Vide Theocrit. in Phar.
h Delrio Disqui. Mag. l. 4. c. q. 5. sec. 7.

and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the grain, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands, &c. Στοιχειομαντεία, opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three daies at *Thessaly*, *i* Et *quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis &c.* and because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets Prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publick causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for foretelling or divination. *a* I know the she Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsel. Whence the word *b* μαντικὴ at this time read for Southsaying, was anciently called μανικὴ madness. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of Lottery, is as clere as day, the *c Scholiast* of *Euripides* testifying; done it seems in matters of question, so κλῆρον λαχεῖν may intimate as much as to undergo trial. Prædictions there were, *d* saith *Eustath.* out of signes and wonders, as also of the noise that leaves makes when they are burned. To which some adde ἀερομαντεία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes in Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

i Wier. de Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

a Vide Sch. Arist. in Plut.
b Aristid. T. 3 pag. 25.

c In Hippol. pag. 580.
d In Il. a. pag. 36.

CAP. VII.

De Templis Asylis.

THeir Churches were of two sorts, sacred to their Gods in Greek, νεὼς, or ἱερὸν. And sacred to their Demi-gods most properly σηκοὶ. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragœdians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first

first Original of their Temples was the erecting of an Edifice to the honour of the deceased. *e* νεὼς μὲν ἐυρήμως ὀνομαζομένους, τάφους δ' ἧττον μένους. τοῦ δ' ἔτι τοῦ τάφου νεὼς ἐπικεκλημένους. *Cecrops* buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, *Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleusiis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called ἔξω περιῤῥαντήριον, the other ἔσω. *f Casaubon* tels us that περιῤῥαντήριον was that holy water set at the dore of the Temple, with which every one that entered into the Temple besprinkled himself, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawful for any but the Priests to come. The *g* Sch. of *Sophocles* thus describes the Church. Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands. Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, Τέμενος, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped; in ancient time a rude Table or Stock, ἀσανὶς *Clemens Alexandrinus* cals it, as that of *Juno Samia*, afterward made in the magistracie of *Procles* to be a statue. At first named, *b* ξόανα, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ ξέσθαι τὴν ὕλης, from the shaving of it; but when art began to be so expert as to make it resemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from βεβροτὸς *mortalis*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these Ceremonies: That a woman neatly trimmed and deckt in purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beans, pease and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulness for their first food εὐχαριστήρια ἀπονέμοντες τὴν πρώτης διαίτης. For as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was consecrated, or did divine hononrs, but in the ἱερῷ or ναῷ, the body of the Church, framing as may be gathered, their gesture towards it. *d* Αὐτὰ δ' ἃ θεραπεύομεν, ἀγάλματα, ξόανα, ἕδη θεῶν, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek Ἄρχειον by some translated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seems to have been Treasurie both for the Church, and any

e Vid. p. 2.

f In Theop. Charact.

g In Oed. Tyrannum.

a Protreptico pag. 23.

b Idem.

c Schol. Arist. p. 115.

d Lib 1. c. 1. τμ. γ.

any soever who fearing the security of his wealth, would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as *e Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*. *Martial* points at this when he saies,

e Laërtius in vita p. 122. vide ad eum locum Cas.

Templa vel arcano demens spoliaverat auro,

So reverently did they esteem of these houses of their Gods, that to do those offices of Nature, I mean venting of Excrements too shamelesly seen among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination, punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* Ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that Taxation, as that they made the πυελεγσμα of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, save at last one Stranger, whom he caused to be whipt, with this Proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that soundly smarted for his wickedness, they were wount proverbially to say, *He had better have eased himself in the Pytheum*; or if there were more in the plural number. Κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ ἀποπατῆσαι. Nay so honourable held they these Churches, that to them they granted priviledge of *Sanctuary*, to which who would flie, might not from thence be drawn out under a Trespass upon Religion. Of this kind was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theseus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides* and *Mercy*, *a* whose Image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the midst thereof she had a Grove. *b* The first *Asylum* among the Heathens is held to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclidæ*.

a Vid. Rosin.
b Polyd. Virg in Eurip *they are persecuted sitting nere the Altar.* T. 2. p. 472.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy *Orders* among them I conceive to have been of divers ſorts. Παράσιτοι, *Paraſiti*, a word had in latter times in great deriſion, exagitated almoſt in every Comœdy, put for a ſhark or ſmell-feaſt, *c Edax Paraſitus*. But held once in good eſteem. For when they had ſet apart ſuch a parcel of land as they thought the Revenues thereof would ſuffice for the Sacrifices of ſuch and ſuch Gods, they choſe certain men who ſhould receive or gather the Harveſt. *Crates*, οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱερῦ σῖτυ ἐκλογὴν ἀιρύμενοι. With the incomes of this were the charges of thoſe publick Sacrifices defrayed. Hence πρόσοδα μεγάλα *introitus magni*, great yearly Subſtance, is uſed for great Sacrifice in *e Ariſtophanes*. Scholiaſt. ὅτι δὲ ἦλεγον τὰς παρασαμβὰς τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίας. Κήρυκες. *Ceryces*, the ſame ſignifies a Crier, but in ſacred Functions a Miniſter, who ſlew and offered the *Victim*. f *Anthenio* the Comœdian aſcribes much honor to them, as if they had firſt taught men to ſeeth victuals, the fleſh of Sheep and *Oxen*, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from g *Ceryx* the ſon of *Mercury* and *Pandorus*. But h *Caſaubon*, ἀπὸ τῦ κρείττονος. *A præſtantiore parte muneris quod obibant, ſic dicti: Idem namque & hoſtias mactabant, adolebantque, &c.* They in the time of Divine Rites, craved the ſilence of the People in theſe Words, Εὐφημεῖτε. Σίγα πᾶς, ἴσωλαός. Be whiſt all ye People. Good words, for ſo εὐφημεῖν ſignifies, as well as to ſay nought, which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he ſayes, *Male ominatis Parcite verbis*. When ſacrifice was ended, they diſmiſſed the Congregation with theſe words, λαῶν ἄφεσις. To which Cuſtom he unfitly looked who derived the Maſs from *Miſſa eſt, ite*, better fetcht in my mind by *a Wechelius* from *Maſath* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praiſe. Μυσταγωγοὶ, the ſame

c Terent.

d Secun. Att. Dialect. apud Athen. p. 235

e Avib. p. 581

f Apud. Ath. l. 14. p. 661.

g Vide Salm. in Inſcripti. Pollucem. l. 8

h In Athen. l. 15. c. 23.

i Cauſab. in Theophraſt. p. 321.

a In lib. quem ſcripſit de Sacrament.

same with *b* Ἱεροφάντης, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entered, were not under a year compleat, permitted to see their Bable) *c Schol. Naz.* Ἱεροφάντης παρὰ τὸ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν. *Hierophantæ* so called from ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερὰ, Opening the holy things. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Ἱερομνῆμοι. *d* The Learned Bishop, upon the place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moses* among the *Israelites* was an *Hierophanta*, shewing unto them what they were to do in those sacred businesses. Πυρφόροι, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whose office made them safe in war and danger. Hence of bloody fight we say ὁ δὲ πυρφόρος, *Ne ignifer quidem*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar. Ἱεροποιοὶ, The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, tenne in number. Νεωκόροι whom *e Nicander* calls ζάκοροι from *f* χορὸν τὸ καλλωπίζειν, to be decent, because they keep the Temples clean, and swept them as, *Ion* in *g Euripides* speaks. These were the νεοφύλακες, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, says *h Aristotle*. And yet we read that the *Parasiti* did sometime look to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out should be restored again. Ἱερεῖς in *i Aristophanes* likewise termed πάρσιτοι. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, *k* whose prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, *l* the trotters and skins, as the *m Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomack did share. Well known to *n Aristoph.* who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius*. It was requisite to this function that they who undertook it should be sound both wind and limb, they being asked εἰ ἀτελὴς before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremony to have been used among holy Orders of latter days is well known, their neighbours,

b Meursius Eleusin. c. 13

c Stel. 1. pag. 63.

d L. *Mountac.* of *Chichester.*

e In Alexaph pag. 144.

f Aristoph. Sc. p 125.

g T. 2. p. 621.

h In Politic.

i In Plut. pag. 71.

k Causab. in Theoph.

l Arist. p. 481

m Arist. pag. 101.

n In Plut. pag. 71.

neighbours wives bearing record, ſayes a *Chriſtianus*; that they have not taken into their ſocieties *quid mutilum*. There were moreover ſhe Prieſts as the Βασίλιαι, in *Demoſthenes*, and the Καπηλίδες whom in all things b *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* compared to the veſtal Nunnes.

a In Ariſtoph.

b Antiq. l. 2. n. 3.

CAP. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philoſophy is of Opinion, that Sacrifices firſt began after the *ancients* had ended their *harveſt*. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth & jollity. In which they offered their firſt fruits called ἀπαρχαί, from whence ἀπάρχεσθαι is read generally to do any ſacrifice. Neither doth ἀκροθίνια import leſs. For c θὶν ſignifies the bend, or great cheſt of the garner, wherein they laid up the harveſt threſht and winnowed; ἄκρον, the firſt or beginning, as if when they began to treaſure up their ſtore, the firſt of all liberally paid ſome devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*; were nothing elſe but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offering; who willed in his laws, that they ſhould be ἴκνεῖτα ἱερεῖα, choſen and ſelected ſacrifices. The rights performed in them were not different from thoſe in the days of *Homer*, but ſomewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand theſe holy things to purifie themſelves ſome certain dayes before, c πεντημέρου ἡμερεῶν ἀριθμὸν, the number of them is not ſet down. I take ἁγιστεύειν here to abſtain from carnal delights, *Tibull. Diſcecite ab aris, Quos tulit heſterna gaudia nocte Venus*) To which purpoſe *Theano* being asked when it might be lawful for a woman, from the company of a man to go to ſacrifice, anſwered, from her own at any time, but a ſtranger never. Being thus prepared, they came and ſtood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered

c Vide Schol. Eur. in Phæn. pag. 221.

d Plut. p. 65. l. 26. *they called their lean ſacrifices* κέρατα καὶ χόνον. *horns and hair, as if naught elſe*, Ariſt. p. 584.

e Demoſt. p. 400. 476.

with flower and ſalt in *f Ariſtophanes* ὀλαὶ, in *g Homer* ὐλοχύτ with which they cut the throat of the *victime*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. *h Ariſtophanes*. Περιῄει δ' βωμὸν περίνεω ἔχων δεξιά. This luſtration was made with meal, and holy water ſprinkled thereon. This water is called *i* χέρνιβ in which they quenched a fire brand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed the ſtanders by, accounting it a kind of cleanſing. (Hence *a* χέρνιβας νέμειν was forbidden him whom they took for a polluted & forlorn rogue) Then they caſt ſome of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cried out *b* Τίς τῇδε *Who is there*, to which they made reply, πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί. Many and good. Then they prayed. *c Homer*, Εὐξάμενοι ἴσταντο ἐυσθενέος περὶ βωμόν. Χερνίψαντο δ' ἵσταντο, καὶ ὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο, Τοῖσιν δ' Χρύσης μεγάλ' εὐχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών. Among the latter they ſpake with a loud voice εὐχόμενοι, before they began. *Let us pray*. Supplications ended, they drew the victime ſo as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards, which *d Homer*, αὖ ἐρύσαν. *Euſt.* οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἄνω θεοὺς, ἀνακλᾶν τ τῦ ἱερείυ τράχηλον, ὥστε ἀφορᾶν, ὡς οἰς τ ὐρανόν. If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they ſlew him and skinned him, and cutting out the * huck ſhin bones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσση (hence the god of the heathen are deciphred by *e Nazianzen*, κνίσσης χαίροντες, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burn all out in a great flame. *f* ἵνα δ σπουδὴ ὁλοκαυτωθῆναι τὸν μηρὸν λαμπρῷ καθαρὸς χόντας πυρί. For the Grecians counted ſo unlucky if it did not ſo conſume, and thought that it was not καλλιέρημα: upon the μηρὸς they caſt ſmall pieces of fleſh cut from every part of the beaſt, beginning with the ſhoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοθετεῖν. The reaſon *Euſtathius* gives, *g* ὡς δοκεῖν πᾶν πάμπυρ, ὅλα ὄντα τὰ μέρη τῦ ἱερείυ καρπῶσθαι, that they might ſeem to conſume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded by law to carry ſome of the ſacrifice home. By reaſon

f In pace. p. 695.
g Ιλ. α. with theſe ὐλοχύτας the Greeks ever began ſacrifice, the Romans Far, Diony Halic. l. 2. n. 4.
h Loco laud.
i Athen. l. 9. pag. 409.
a Sophocles Oed. Tyr.
b Ariſtoph.
c Ιλιαδ. α.
d Ιλιαδ. α.
* Μηρια.
e In Stel.
f Euſtath. p. 101. Ιλ.
g Loco laud.

reason of which in junction, they did so strain curtesie of their Gods, that the illiberal & nigardly sort of People would sel that which was left, and so make gain of their devotion. *h* τῶ μὲν ἱερεῖ πλὴν ἢ ἱερείων τὰ κρέα ἀποδιδόασι saies *Theophrast.* Where *i Causabon* notes, *Coxam fere offerebant, aut intestina, aut aliud non magnæ rei persæpe.* They offered the hanch bone, or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth, where by entrals you are to understand the spleen, the liver, & the heart, which *Homer* calls σπλάγχνα for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sence we say ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, a pusillanimous man, & εὔσπλαγχνος a couragious as the *a* Schol. of *Sophocles* teaches us, and so σπλάγχνα ἐλέους the bowels of compassion. These the ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, & afterwards cut out the rest to rost. For when they had finished their devotions, they let the reins loose to all manner of voluptuousnes, gluttony & drunkennes. For oft times they left nothing after their sacrifice, especially when they offered to *Vesta*, whence the proverb Ἑστίᾳ θύειν, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare.* To say that publickly they began to *Vesta* were more then I could well prove; but that they did so is plain. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once Ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι to be taken but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on *b Aristophanes.* As for their meat offerings it was required that they should be *c* sound and without blemish, whether it were an oxe, sheep, goat, swine, calf: to sacrifice they simply termed ῥέζειν which our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere d* Virgil, *cum faciam vitula.* Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased if he offered *Malas*, which the Greeks call *e* θυλήματα *meale*, which by the richer was mingled with oile and wine as the *f* Scholiast of *Aristoph.* The more wealthy instead of this did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were set a part, as *g Demosthenes.* In

h Th. Charac. περὶ ἀηδολογίας.

i Pag. 336.

a In Ajacem Lorarium.

b Vide. p. 582.

c vide Pollucem l. 1.

d In Bucolicis.

e Casaub. in Theop. p. 237.

f Pag. 701.

g Pag. 378.

their oblations the μάγειροι or cooks give the *b* 10 part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀδικάστου κοιλία, put for ἱερεῖα where the Gods cannot have their allowance. *Schol. Aristoph.* on ἀδικαζόντως τῶν θεῶν ἱερεῖα ἔχοντα κοιλίας. Εθος ἦν ἔχειν τὰς δικὰς τὰς τῶν θυομένων τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι δίδοναι δέκην ἢ εἶπεν ἀδικάστου ἔχοντα ἱερεῖα, &c.

b Schol. Aristoph. p. 304.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THe ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred and fixtie daies, each month consisting of thirty. Rude Antiquitie ignorant of celestial contemplations, deeming the Moon to finish her course in that space. Which according to *a Petavius* seems false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a main difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*; in which when they found 7 daies deficient, they supplyed them by adding * two to every end of the year, called ἀναχοι ἡμέραι, b *eo quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant*, Because for those two daies *Athens* was without Magistrates. But the last of these four had but 359 daies, besides the two ὑπερβάλλοντα, in respect of the Olympick games, ever kept in the *Olympick* Games, ever kept in the * full Moon, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moon. Nevertheless the Sun and Moon appearing 14 daies odds in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Month, that this time being ended, the course might still return the same. This all *Greece* observed saies *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed μυσήεια, by the people of *Etis* an *Olimpiad*. What kind of Lunary year was in use among the Grandsires of *Greece*, is not

a De Doct. Temp. l. 1. cap. 1.

* Negat Petitus Miscel. l. 8. p. 192. Petav. affirm.

b M. *Selden.* in Apparat. ad Græco Epoch. Chro.

* id est, *The fifteenth day.*

c De D. Tem. T. 1. p. 4.

not truly known; by *Petitus* delivered to be of D. 347. every Month 29 D. except one, which like our February had but 28 D: Every two years one Month was inserted: one of 29. D. another time of 28 D: But because in two years this * *magnus annus* surpassed the Moon 15 D. *itaque Tetraeterida fecerunt.* This consisted of 1445 D. 723. & 722. make 1445 so many days 354. four times doubled hath, if you please to adjoyn 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understand f *Geminus* Τὰς μιᾶς τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατ' ἄγον, καὶ ἡμιολίους παρ' ἑνιαυτόν. *That must be fitly understood* quoth he, *for they did number the months as if they were* 30 D: *when notwithstanding they had but* 29. g *Petavius* is otherwise conceited, who takes the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* in that sence, as meaning 29 D: full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to h *Geminus* you may account 29 1/2 1/33, and i *Ulpian*, οἰκονομικὰ καὶ ἥμισυ. 29 1/2. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a Month was supputed 29. D. k *Theon.* Μῆνα δὲ λέγομεν, τὸν ἀπὸ σωδεκάτου Σελήνης καὶ Ἡλίου χάσματος ὁπὲ σωδέκατον, ὃς ἔστιν ἡμερῶν κθ'. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plain, Καὶ δὴ πάντων ζωσθέντων ἡμέραν ἀκόλουθον, ἢ ὀλ ἢ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας χάσμα· τούτῳ δὴ τῷ μιᾷ ἐχρῶντο πᾶσι, καὶ δὴ πολιτικῶν ἡμερῶν διαγραφαῖς καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῶνται πολλοὶ δὴ Ἑλλήνων. *He means a day the space of a night and a day, for according to such Months did they administer their civil affaires. And now it is in request among many of the Greeks.* But of this enough. Soon was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty; therefore was made a Kalender of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sun, to wit, 11 D. 1/4. made up three months, inserted every third, fift, and eighth year. But the scruples comming short in sixteen years 3 D: they intercalated three. And seeing still they could not make it even. a *Euctemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack of nineteen years, which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Months 640. of them 28, ἐμβόλιμοι, τῇ δὲ τάξει δὴ ἐμβολίμων ἡμίσεις ἐχρήσαντο, saies *Geminus*, This was the progress of their reformation.

d Eclog. Chr. p. 225. Petav. *goes not so home.* Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 6.

* *each of these two years severally taken was called* vertens, *joyned* annus magnus.

e Loco laud.

f Elem. Astro. c. 8. p. 36.

g In Auctario.

h Loco citat.

i In Arg. Orat. contra Aud. p. 380.

k In Arati Diosem. pag. 74.

a Geminus p. 38. *Whom I follow. Not ignorant that* Meton *was the first that made the Circle of 19. years. Hence* Μίτων καὶ ἑνιαυτὸς. Metons *yeare is put for a long time proverbially.*

But we must look back again and consider that they counted their year two waies. First of *b* CCCLX, as hath been already spoken, next CCCLIIII, when they made the Months interchangeably πλήρεις καὶ κοίλους, *full and deficient*, that is, one 29, the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their days. The first wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalepha* or contraction of the words νουμηνία. The second δευτέρα. The eigth ἐνδεκάτη, or half full: the full παρὰ πλήθουσαν. The last τετὰς, ἐ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῷ νυκτὶ φαίνεται, because that in the daies of *d Thales Milesius*, who was the Author of that terme, the Month had 30 and no more, but ended, whence I suppose *e* αἱ ἐν ἅδου τετάδες, signifie the dead, the period of whose life has been come to. Tho *Diogenian* gives other reasons. And by the way we must not think, that they had no regard to the course of the Sun; *f sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris &c.* But nevertheless that the year might be correspondent to the Sunne, they put five daies called ἐπαγόμενα epacted, to the last Month *Scirrophorion*, for the supplying of the defect. And so the year had 365. D. which was the true and just measure. But he might have added sometimes 366, by reason of that ¼ which *Geminus* acknowledges the *Greeks* to have reckoned, although they accounted their Months but 30. D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which *a Aratus* stiles μίσσαν ὀπωπτόν. To this point the Greek Authors telling their year by seed time. *b Sophocles* —Ἐπλεύσαμεν Ἀφύτου ἔτος τρίτον ἤδη. For the ancients saies *c Theon*, took the year three waies, either by the Sun or seasons; as spring summer, autumn, winter, *d* (*Sophocles* Ἐξ ἧρος εἰς ἀρκτοῦρον ἐμμένειν χείμας· χειμῶνι δ' ἤδη) or thirdly by the Moon: whose irregularity *Solon* is reported by *Plutarch* first to have marked. Observing therefore that she on the same day overtook and surpassed the Sun, *f* ἅμα τῇ ἡλίῳ καταλαμβάνουσα καὶ παρερχομένη ἡ σελήνη, he caused that to be called *g* ἔνη καὶ νέα *the old and new*, because that remnant which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

b Then were all the months of 30 D. as you may see in Schol. Aristoph. Achar. p. 412. c.

c Gem. p 32.
d Laertius in vita.
e Pollux l. 1.

f Petit. Eccl. Chro. p. 215.

a In Διοσημ. p. 78.
b In Antigon p. 213.
c In Aratum p. 78.
d In Oedip. Tyran. p. 183
e In vita pag. 66. l. 15.
f Plutarch.
g Laert. in vita.

the precedent Month, and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the subsequent. (These pieces *h Aratus* calls σωιόντων Μλωῶν πολεῶτα) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in sight, who in his *l Odysses* terms the thirtieth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, Τῦ μὲν φθίνοντ☉ μλωὸς, τῦ δ' ἱσαμένοιο. Where we may note that then they had no μισῦντ☉, but counted from one to twelve in the *ordinal numbers*, used by *k Demosthenes* in one Oration, ἐνδεκάτῃ, & δωδεκάτῃ Ἑκτομβαιῶν☉. Then putting the lesser to the greater, they said τρίτῃ ὀπὶ δέκα, τετάρτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, *the third above ten, the fourth upon ten*, and so to twenty, * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, and the light almost lost, they changed the order, and used δεκάτῃ φθίνοντ☉, ἐνάτῃ, &c. *the tenth of the decrease, the ninth of the decrease*, and so to the twenty nine δευτέρα φθίνοντος, *the second from the decrease, or from the end*, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished but the 30th they call'd ἕνη καὶ νέα for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason why the Moneth ended was φθίνων. *l* Ἐπεὶδὴ φθίνειν ἄκρος καὶ φθίσεσθαι δοκῆ τὰ φῶτα. Because the dayes and Moons doe as it were die, according to that of *Horace. Novæque pergunt interire Lunæ.* *m Macrobius*, *quid aliud nisi illum φθίνοντα dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis supputatio in nomen desinit secuturi: & ἰσάμενον illum, qui præcedit numerum successurus priori in defectum meanti.* Ἰσάμεν☉ standing to supply the place of the departing Moneth; fixed and still waiting till the Moon shall have journyed to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand. *Virgil*, *n Stat sua cuique dies*, as unto which we must pass through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to the Moon. Hence read we μλῶας καὶ πόλιν ἄγειν, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick businesses, or belonging to government. In which course they made their year of CCCLIIII dayes, which divided into ten parts, make ten times

h In Diosem. pag. 125.
i Odyss. ξ. pag. 164.
k Contra Timocratem. p. 446. n. 39.
* Vide Plut. loco nuper laudat.
l Ulpian in Dem. p. 210.
m Macrobius Sat. l. c. 16.
n Æneid. 10. pag. 300.

times 35, which ſpace each a πρυτανεία ruled in its turn, the four that abounded were called ἀρχαιρεσίαι, in which they choſe Magiſtrates, being for that time deſtitute of them. The year thus diſpoſed, the months muſt of neceſſity be πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι *cavi & pleni*, as b *Geminus*. Ὅτι ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀγωγὴ ὁλοσχερέστερον λαμβανόμενοι μιγνιαῖοι χρόνοι εἰσὶν ἡμερῶν κθ ὥστε ἢ δίμηνον γίγεσθαι ἡμερῶν νθ, ὃ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ αἰτίαν ἐστὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν μῆνες ὀνομάζεται πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι. διὰ τὸ τῶν Σελήνης δίμηνον ἡμερῶν εἶναι νθ. If a Moneth have 29 D. ½, two have 58. Becauſe therefore the two halfes might be made one whole, they ſo ordered it that now it ſhould be 29 D. then 30 D: The *Athenians* counted their day from the ſetting of the ſun on this day until the going down of the next. In reſpect to which *d Nicander* may be thought to ſay of noon ſleep,-ἀκρέμνυτε ὑύδων. *To take the reſt at the beginning of the even.* I know that the Ancients wrought but ſix hours in the day. *e Martial, ſexta quies laſſis ſeptima finis erit.* Which *f Euſtath* affirms in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Z.H.Θ.I. where the notes of the 7,8,9,10. hours, which joyned make Ζῆθι, as if they ſhould have ſaid to the laborers, *Reſt*. The beginning of the year was *g Hecatombæon, July*, the eight, ſays *h Petitus*. They ever accounting that to be the firſt Moneth. In which order I have found them ſet down in a *i* Manuſcript in our publique Library, only *Mæmacterion* is to be put above *Pyanepſion*.

a Argum. Or. Dem. contra. Androt. p. 380.

b Elemen. Aſtronom. pag. 31.

c Macrob l. 1 Sat. c. 3. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 77.

d In Theriac.

e Lib. 4. Ep. 8.

f In Ιλ. ad ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ παννύχιον.

g Cauſab. in Athen. p. 931

h Chronol. Eclog.

i In 40 num. 24. p. 264.

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew.*	*Egypt.*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ianuarius.	Αἰγὸκαρως.	Σάβαρ.	Τυβὶ.	Αὐτναῖος.	Ἑκατομβαιών.
Φεβρουάριος.	Ὑδροχόος.	Ἄβαρ.	Μαχαὶρ.	Πυάνεψιος.	Μεταγειτνιών.
Μάρτιος.	Ἰχθύες.	Μισάν.	Φαμενώθ.	Δύστρος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Aprilis.	Κριὸς.	Ιάβ.	Φαρμοῦθι.	ξανθικὸς.	Πυανεψιών.
Maius.	Ταῦρος.	Ἰυθανάν.	Παῦνι.	Αρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Iunius.	Δίδυμοι.	Θαμνί.	παυνὶ.	Δαίσιος.	ποσιδεών.
Iulius.	Καρκῖνος.	Ἀβ.	Επεφὶ.	Πάνημος.	Γαμηλιών.
Augustus.	Λέων.	Βὲλ.	Μεσορὶ.	Λῶος.	Ανθεστηριών.

Σεπτ-

Σκιρροφοριῶν.	Ἑκατομβαιῶν.	Θαργηλιῶν.	Μουνυχιῶν.	Ἐλαφηβολιῶν.	Πυανεψιῶν.
Μεταγειτνιῶν.	Βοηδρομιῶν.	Μαιμακτηριῶν.	Ποσειδεῶν.	Γαμηλιῶν.	Ἀνθεστηριῶν.

In which Table, although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Moneth *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever ſo removed out of his place, as a *Petitus* will have it, *Epiphanius* contradicting, of which by and by. Indeed when the Chriſtians in honour of their *Eaſter* began the year in *April*, they called *April Hecatombæon*; as he *himſelf Teſtifies*. But that *Hecatombæon* was alwayes the firſt Moneth is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's ſucceſſors changed the head of the year from *July* to the ſeventh of *October*, it is like that they began at *Mæmacterion* according to this [c] rule.

[a] Eclog. Chr. p. 42. 14.

[b] Loco laud.

[c] Ex MS. Bibliothecæ Bodlianæ in 8o. n. 8.

Μαιμακτηριῶν.
Ποσειδεῶν.
Γαμηλιῶν.
Ἀνθεστηριῶν.
Ἐλαφηβολιῶν.
Μουνυχιῶν.
Θαργηλιῶν.
Σκιρροφοριῶν.
Ἑκατομβαιῶν.
Μεταγειτνιῶν.
Βοηδρομιῶν.
Πυανεψιῶν.

[d] Certain it is that the ſame *Attick* Moneths are ſometimes Lunary, & ſometimes not, but of 30 D: or *Julian*; when they are Lunary they have no ſure ſeat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the reaſon why the ſame Moneths have not been ſuted to the *Julian*, by writers

[d] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. pag. 138.

Vlpian on *Demoſthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to *c January*, and in the Oration for *Cteſiphon*, to *March*, and again to *f April*, g *March*, he calls *Boedromion*, which alſo he interprets h *June*. *Elaphebolion*, i *November*, k *September*, (in the Margin *February*) and l *December*. m *Thargelion*. *April*. *Munichion*, *January*. *Scirrophorion*, *March*. Which errors are curſorily noted by n *Petit* in part, to no great ſatisfaction. But when by the decree of *Auguſtus Cæſar* they were charged to conform their year to the *Julian*, they o thus numbred.

c Pag. 21.
f Pag. 163.
g In Olynth 3
h Pag. 148.
i Pag. 140.
k Pag. 167.
l Pag. 120.
m Pag. 167.
n Holog. Chr. l. 1. c. 6. p. 213
o Vide Petav. in Epiphan.

Menſes Attici.	*Menſes Juliani.*
Ελαφηβολιών.	*March.*
Μυνυχιών.	*April.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*
Σκιῤῥοφοριών.	*June.*
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*July.*
Μεταγειτνιών.	*Auguſt.*
Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μαιμακτηριών.	*October.*
Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
ποσιδεών.	*December.*
Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Ανθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this, ſo much onely. We muſt handle their Lunarie year, becauſe according to them were their feaſts kept. From whence ſometimes they would count, as a ποσῦτον χ̓ ὄσον ὁπ Διονυσίων. So much, and as long ſince the *Bacchanals*; ſpeaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy days, view this Almanack.

a Ariſtoph. Pag. 806. c.

Hecatombæon, July.

1 πρώτη ἱσταμένου. πρωτανεία πρώτη.
2 Δεύτη.
3 Τετράδι.
4 πέμπτη.

5 Ἕκτη.

5 Ἕκτη.
6 Ἑβδόμη * Κάθοδος Θησέως εἰς Ἀθήνας. Kept in memorie of the return of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had
7 * Ὀγδόη. slayn the *Minotaure*, b *Plutarch*. The solemnitie c *Ovid* seems to discribe: *Nullus Erechthidis*
8 Ἐνάτη. *fertur celebratior illo, Illuxisse dies, &c.* the eight
9 Δεκάτη day of every Month was sacred to him. He had also a festival called *Theseia*, in honor of gathering togeather the dispersed people of *Attica*.
10 Πρώτη μεσῦντος.
11 Δευτέρα. Κυεία ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη. α.
12 Τρίτη. Κρόνια. Of these, as also of the day, speaks d *De*
13 Τετράδι. *mosthenes*. Then did the masters wait on
14 Πέμπτη. their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals,
15 * Ἕκτη. c *L. Accius*. *Maxima pars Graium Saturno,*
16 Ἑβδόμη. *& maxime Athenæ Conficiunt sacra, quæ*
17 Ὀγδόη. *Cronia esse iterantur ab illis, Cumq; diem cele-*
18 Ἐνάτη. *brant, per agros, urbesque fere omnes Exercent*
19 Εἰκάς. *epulis læti, famulosq; procurant Quisque suos.*
20 Δεκάτη Φθίνοντος. Κυεία ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη. β. Hence was
21 Ἑνδεκάτη. this month called by the ancient *Athenians* Κρόνιος; afterward *Hecatombæon*, from
22 Ὀγδόη.
23 Ἑβδόμη. ἑκατομβαία, sacrifices to *Jupiter* or *Apollo*,
24 Ἕκτη. some think with the blood of an hundred
25 Πέμπτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their
26 Τετάρτη. sacrifices. f *Ovid. Taurum sanguine centum.*
27 Τρίτη παραδιώσια. g The Scholiast of *Homer*
28 Δευτέρα. saies that *Hecatombe* may be used for five
29 Ἕνη καὶ νέα. and twenty beasts, whose feet mak up the number of an hundred, ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκατὸν βάσιων, ὅ ὅτιν ἐξ εἰκοσιπέντε ζώων.

* To *Minerva* the protectress of their citie, as hath been before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as h *Plutarch*, καὶ παναθήναια

b In vit. p. 12 Metamorph. l. 7. Hab. 23. Vide illum diligenter. Nam erit operæ pretium.
d Pag 446. contra Timocratem.
e In Annalib. vide Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 7. versus finem.
* Then were kept the Μετοίκια in memorial of their transmigration.
Plut. p 8 l. 9.
By some it is termed Ξυνοίκια. Aristoph. p. 700. Plut. initio Them. l. 12.
f Metamorp.
g In Il. α. Pag. 6.
h In vita p. 8. lib. 8.

Θυσίαν ἐπώνυμον κοινὴν. At first they had the name Ἀθήναια, by *Erichthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as horse races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called πυρρίχη, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in i *Meursius* at large, and k *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

i In Panathenæis.
k Pag. 140. 197. 180. 181. 467. 580. 650. 746.

The second of this month is called τρίτη, becau se it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

Metagitnion. August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo* called Μεταγειτνια.

1 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
5
6
7 πρυτανεία δευτέρα.
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17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
18
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21

Κυεία ἐκκλησία β.

* *Boedromion.* September.

Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pausanias* and *Aristides* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his General near *Platæa*, a citie of *Bœotia*. *a Herodotus*, *b Justin*.

Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. *Miltiades* leader of the *Attick* forces got the upper hand of the *Persians*.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ. In which battle when *Cynægyrus* pursued the flying enemies to their ships, he caught hold of one with his

Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ. right hand, which lost, he made use

*Χαρισήεια Ἐλευθερίας. of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prowess spared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name for valour against his enemies.

* Ἀγυρμὸς Μυσήεια.

*In thankfulness for the delivery of *Greece*, at what time *Darius* and his fleet went homeward. *b Aristides* describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Altar to *Jupiter* that freed them.

* The greater in which they were made *c* ἐπόπται, or admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first day was called ἀγυρμὸς, perhaps from the conflux of the people

* *From this Month came the Feasts* Boedromia *from Theseus overthrowing the* Amazons. Plut. p. 9. *or* Ion *helping the* Athenians *against* Eumolpus Βοηδρομεῖν *to aid because in necessity they made a cry.* Aristophan. Βοὴν ἴσασιν Lucian. ἐπικαλεῖσθαι Latini *Quiritari hence help came in.* *a* Calliop p. 234 b. lib. 3. *b* Tom. 1. p. 157. see Plut. in Aristid. p. 241. *c* Sch. *Arist.* p. 247.

Here I look on Meurſius for brevities ſake but if you pleaſe to read ſeverally, ſee Ariſtoph. *Sch.* p. 85. 98. 131. 138. 455. 529. 647. 142. 218. 227. 228. 231. 232 217. 262. 264. 516. Ariſtid. T. 1. p. 323. Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p 10.

22 * Κυεία ὀκτὰλησία. *a* people. The ſecond ἄλαδε μύσαι,
23 becauſe the Crier then warned
them to goe to the ſea. The third day they ſacrificed
24 a Barble, becauſe it devours the ſea hare, an enemie
25 to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket re-
26 preſenting *Proſerpine* gathering flowers, which wo-
27 men following cried χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Haile *Ceres*. The
28 fift, they rann with torches. Hence λαμπαδηδρομία, and
29 λαμπάδων ἡμέρα. The ſixt, *Bacchus* was carried in pomp
Hence it is termed Ἴακχος. The ſeaventh day they exerciſed
in feats of activity, and he that overcame had wheat given
him. The 8th was *Epidauria* from *Æſculapius* his comming
from *Epidaurus* to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they
filled two meaſures of corn, and ſetting one at Eaſt and the
other at the Weſt, they powred them out, one looking to
heaven and crying ὗε the other to the ground, ſaying, τέκτα.
Thus *Meurſius*. That day was πανημοχόη.

a Sympoſ. Q. l. 9 q. 6. & in l. περὶ φιλαδελφίας. p. 331.

The ſecond of this Month was left out ever, ſaies *a Plutarch*, inſtead of which ſome are perſwaded, the name onely was omitted, as τριάκτη for Τέτη, which was recompenced by ἐνδεκάτη ὀθίνοντος, or ἰσαμόν. As in a defective Month δεκάτη ὀθίνοντος, for the twentie. Of this judgment is the b *worthie Petavius*.

b Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 5. p. 11. D.

* *Pyanepſion.* October.

* Μαιμακτερίον *is to be inſerted here.*

This month took denomination from the feaſts *Pyanepſia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their ariving they put it into one pot, and ſeething it, were Jovial altogether at the ſame.

1
2 Κυεία ὀκτὰλησία. β.
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πυανέψια After that *Theſeus* had buried his Father, he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if he returned ſafe from the death of the *Minotaure*, he would ſacrifice unto him a pot of ſodden beans. Hence πυανέψια, as it were κυαμέψια. For the antiquities called Ἀγυιὸς εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια. [beanes πύαμος Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Θεσμοφόρια. *c Plautus* calls this feſtival *vigilias Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames kept moſt ſober and chaſt, ſtrowing their beds with *conyza* for that purpoſe, it being an enemy to luſt. They prepared themſelves with faſting, but after that, took their liquor freely. The number of dayes were three allotted, as ſome, or four, as others, When *Caſtellanus* ſays that *Ovid* makes them nine, its falſe; for that was the *Myſteria*, as we above have ſhewn. They were done in ho- * nour to *Ceres*, that gave lawes firſt, as ſhe is termed Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος. Of theſe you may read *d Ariſtophanes* and his Scholiaſt. c In Aul.

πρυτανεία. δ. * Ἀπατούρια Kept this Moneth. When the Parents brought their children to their Tribes, to be inroled, I ſuppoſe for fear of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made merry for four dayes. The firſt was Δορπία. The ſecond Ἀνθεστήρια. The third Κυεσῶτις. The fourth Ἐπιδόσια. d Pag. 611. 770. 782. 783. 819. 820 829.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. α. Καλλυντήρια. In honour of *Minerva*. f *Meurſius* teaches us that they were celebrated the 17 of this month, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them. f Græcia Feria. l. 1.

Mæmacter-

Mæmacterion. November.

This Month is to be placed before *Pyanepsion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as Mr. *Selden*, *Petavius*, and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for most approved.

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7 Κυεία ἐκκλησία, β.
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17 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ. *Plutarch* in the life of *Aristides*, sayes that the *Bœotians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly
18 some to sacrifice to the memory of those that died at
19 *Platæa*, and every five year they have great pastimes,
20 which *c* he sets down the manner of.
c. p. 241.
21
22
23 Ψυτριῶνος. δ. This Moneth is derived from *Jupiter*
24 *Mæmactes*: for I suppose they first found Gods, after-
25 wards Festivals to them. Not the Moneths first, and
26 then named the Gods from them.

27
28
29

Poſideon. December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Poſidon*. For the first day of this Month was ſacred to him, as *b Cauſabon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσιδῶν ἡμέρα. *b* In Theoph Char. ult.

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2
3

4 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. α.

5 Ληναια. *Dionyſia τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς*. Without the City. It
6 ſeems when they had gathered in vintage,
7 and preſſed their grapes. Λήνη *Torcular*. Then were they
8 moſt jocund, as may appear out of that *Like the voice of*
9 *them that tread the Wine preſs*, and in *c Oppian*. ἐπλήσθη *c* Κυνηγ. α. ver. 127.
10 χαίρων. On which words *d Conradus Rittarſpuſius* takes *d* Pagina 18.
11 Ληναιῶνα to be *January*.
12

13 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. β.

14
15
16 Ἀλῶα. A feaſt to *Ceres*. The day doubtful. *c Demoſthen*; *c* Pag. 743.
17
18
19
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22

23 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ.
24

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

πρυτανεία. ε.

Gamelion January.

From the Marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom before we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*. That month wherein this people coupled hence is called *Gamelion*, from Γάμος, *nuptiæ*. It is sacred to *Juno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *conjugalis*, President of Weddings and the Marriage bed.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

27
28 Κυρία ὀκλησία. γ.
29

Anthisterion. February.

1
2 Κυρία ὀκλησία. δ.
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5 πρυτανεία. ζ.
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11 Ἀνθεστήρια Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first πιθοίξια from πίθος the tubs, and θύειν to open, for at the broaching of their vessels they drunk stiffely. The second Χοαὶ from *Chus*, a good capacious vessel. In this he that could drink down the rest of his companions had a golden crown. The third χύτροι, I suppose different from χύτροι. From this festival the month is named. The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Lynnis* were kept, called μεγάλα & ἀγχαύτροις. The 13*th* were acted Comœdies, begun the 3*d* year of the 93 Olympiad, when *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught as *a Donat* and *b Ulpian* witness, and *c Aristophanes*, ὅτε πλῆθος συνηγέιρεν ὀπθυμῶν τὰ χαινὰ δράματα βλέπειν, saies one.

Of this you may see Aristoph p 293. 417. 419. 422. 222.

The day was called χύτροι *likewise but not in the sence spoken.*

a In Terent. pag. 289.
b In Demost. pag. 184.
c Pag. 143.

12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
Κυρία ὀκλησία. ε.
25
26
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30

Elaphebolion. March.

1
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γι
5
6
7 Θυσία Ασκληπίου. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
8
9
10 πρυτανεία ἡ.
11
12
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14
15
16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ.

Of these *Æschines* makes mention, & you shall have them obvious every where in the Greek Authors.

c Contra Ctesiphon.

17
18
19
20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ς.

Munychion

Munychion. April.

1
2
3
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9
10 Κυσία ὀκκλησία. α.
11
12
13 Κυρία ὀκκλησία. α.
14
15
16 Μυνύχια. πρυτανεία ἐνδεκα. *Munychia* were observed to *Di-*
17 *ana*, who was so called and had a temple in *Munychia*,
18 by *Athens*. The month bears the name. In this month were the causes of strangers adjudged. *a Arist. Sc.* To *Jupiter Meilichius*. The greatest day that
19 Διάσια. the *Attick* rout was kept in. See this *b Aristophanes* and *c Eustathius*.

a Avib. p. 60. *b* Pag. 150. 174. *c* Ismen. & Ism. l. 3.

20
21
22
23
24
25
26 Κυσία ὀκκλησία. α.
27
28
29
30

Targelion. May.

1
2
3
4
5 Κυεία ὀκλησία. C.
6 Θαργήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their
7 nativitie. On this day did they expiate for the sins of the
8 people. For they were wont to nouriſh ſome baſe men,
9 and of no account, at the publick charge when in time
10 of peſtilence, or the like they ſacrificed for the ſins of the
11 Citie, two in number, ſaies the *a Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtopha-*
12 *nes*, whence they were called δημόσιοι: but more pro-
13 perly καθάρματα & φαρμακοὶ *b Ariſtophanes*.
14
15 Κυεία ὀκλησία γ.
16
17
18 Κυεία ὀκλησία. Δ.
19
20 Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named Βένδις.
21 Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the grea-
ter. See *Meurſius*.
22 Καλλυντήρια. Πρωτανεία. ι.
23
24 πλυντήρια *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, others
will have the 25. To *Minerva*, on
25 which they take off the ornaments of her ſtatue, and
26 waſh it I ſuppoſe, *c Plutarch*, *d Xenophon*.
27
28
29

a In Equites pag. 353.
b In Ranis.
c Pag. 152.
d Ελλην. α. p. 257.

Scirrophorion. June.

1
2
3
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11
12 Σκίρα. To *Minervà* from σκίρον, a Canopie, under which her Priests did walk in pomp at that
13 time: or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus.*
14 c *Schol. Aristoph.*
15 Βουφόνια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had slain that c Pag. 497. 725.
16 beast eating the meal provided for the sacrifice, he
17 slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was
18 kept. Afterward they did mitigate the Law, and gave
19 licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the
20 plough. To which *d Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos* d Satyr. 10.
21 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ. *Qui domini cultris tenue & miserabile collum Præbet, ab invito jam fastiditus aratro.* ver. 268.
22
23
24 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
25
26
27 Πρυτανεία πρώτη πρώτη, &c.
28 Where *Petitus* makes the four first Tribes to governe * Athen. Rep.
29 each his day, on those four that abounded above the l. 2. c. 3.
30 year, * *Sigonius* seems to agree, and * *Manssacus* ap- * In notis ad Harpocra.
proves

proves it. Neither is it misliked by * *Petavius*. * *Scaliger* hath falsely taught us otherwise, who makes each *Prytaneia* to rule 36 dayes, which none ever are to have done, except the first four.

* De Doct. Temp. l. 2. c. 1
* De emend. Temp. lib 1.

CAP. IX.

De Tragediâ, Satyrâ, & Comœdiâ.

IT is taken for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who lived a 907 yeares before Christ, was the first that taught *b* τραγικῶς λέγειν, to speak in Tragœdy; comprehending great and many matters in few words and very concisely, being more large and using circumlocutions in matters of less consequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragœdian. This foundation being laid, following ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfection. *Nam post illius tale tantumque documentum, &c.* says *c Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the Iliads had represented a Tragœdie, by the *Odysses* a Comœdy, most ingenious imitators took those Poems and set them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconsiderately, & without judgment written, impolisht, and in the first rudiments not so neat and trim, as in process of time they were made: For Poesie was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the first publishing of Plays. For we see little or nothing of *d Susarion*, the first Comœdian, worth our time: some few verses only, & so few as may but witness such an Author. The original of the word Comœdy is supposed to be taken from divers reasons: First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they sung them, and so it may be derived from κῶμος, *commessatio*; *c* κωμάζειν, signifying μετὰ μέσης ἀκρατοῦς ἄδειν, to sing basely at the cup. Secondly from κῶμα, sleep; because when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the custom (as before hath been spoken) for the party abused, to come in the

a Vid. Can. Chron. ad Gr. Epoch. Mar. Arund. p. 97.
b Hermog. de Eloq. Meth. p. 561. c. 23. Eustath in Præf. ad Iliad
c Tract. de Trag. & Comœd. præfat. Terentio.
d Marmo. Arund. & ad ea Seld. CL. Præfixa etiam Aristoph. σὺν} κώμῳ. δ'.
Sch. in Naz. vtel. C. d. 106

the night ſeaſon into the ſtreets, and with a loud voice cry, ſuch and ſuch rejoyce in wrong, and commit ſuch outrages, though there be Gods and Laws. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was ſought out by the husbandmen and much ſhamed; by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly from κώμη, a ſtreet, becauſe when the old *Athenians* would no e a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merily in the ſtreets and high ways, they laid open, every mans life, and concealed not his name, f *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis læti, alacreſque veniebant: ibique cum nominibus ſingulorum vitam publicabant.* Theſe verſes were firſt ſung g in the Green Meddowes, h about the beginning of the ſpring; When the husbandmen kept the Feſtivals of *Bacchus* the God of Wine, to whom they ſacrificed a Goat, becauſe his biting is an enemy to the Vine, the skin of which they took and ſowed up cloſe, filled with wine, and anointed it with oyle to make it ſlippery, and ſo hopped with one leg upon it, making themſelves laughter at the falls they often took. This ſport they ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς a skin and ἅλλεσθαι, to leap, i *Ariſtophanes.* Ἀσκωλιάζ' ὀντῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. k *Virgil* hath fitly ſet it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Cæditur, & veteres ineunt proſcennia ludi:
Præmiaque, l ingentes Pagos, & compita circum
Theſeidæ poſuere: atque inter pocula læti
Mollibus in pratis, unctos ſaliere per utres.

After *Suſarion*, ſprang up *Theſpis*, the firſt that made Tragœdies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lacrymoſa poemata*, ſad Poems; becauſe they repreſent humane miſeries, the misfortunes of Kings and great men eſpecially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as m *Arrian* hath obſerved. Which thing gave an occaſion to n *Socrates*, when he ſaw the moſt worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to ſay to *Antiſthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did ſome famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we marke

f Donatus Tra. & Com.
g Idem ibid.
h In Synopſi vitæ Ariſtop. Th. Magiſter.
i Plut. p. 108
k Geor. 2.
l Iſa. Tzetzes in Proleg. ad Poetas interpretes κώμας, μίγισα χωρία.
m In Epicter. pag. 95.
n Ælian. Var. l. 2. c. 11.

that ſuch as *Atreus*, *Thyeſtes*, and *Agamemnon* are ſlain; but what Poet was yet ſo impudent as to ring a baſe fellow on the ſtage ſacrificed? Nor ſupernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K. Archelaus*, deſiring that he would write a Tragœdy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragœdy might happen to him; meaning ſorrow and lamentation. For ſo is

o Athen. l. 3. pag. 90.

o Τραγῳδία uſed, as ο Κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The firſt Tragœdy that *Theſpis* taught, was that of *Alceſtis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as

p Ad Marm. Arund.

p Mr. *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Theſpis* was forbidden

q Laert. in Solone p. 40

by *Solon* to act his Tragœdies, as q ἀνωφελῆ ψῳδολογίαν, a fruitleſs lying. *Horace* of him thus ſpeaks.

Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe camœnæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poemata Theſpis;
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.

Upon which words ſome have written, that his Poems were ſo voluminous, that he was conſtrained to bring them upon wains. But alas, a poor conceit! r *Franciſcus Luſinius Uticenſis* is of opinion that *Theſpis* carried his ſcene upon carres, and *Acron*; That the *Chorus* carried about in Waines acted Tragœdies. *Chori plauſtris circumducti Tragœdias agebant.*

r In horatii poetic.

ſ Schol. Ariſt pag 142.

ſ I avouch that at the firſt the Poets acted alone their own Fables: And to me it ſeems a ground for to ſtand on, the Greek Authors by the word ὑποκριτὴς, intimating a Poet. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριτὰς, &c. The ancients, ſays t *Ulpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, *actors*, which we now term *Tragœdy*, ſuch as *Euripides*, *Ariſtophanes*, *&c.* The place in which they ſing their Poems, was a Scene upon a Wain drawn in Proceſſion to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the cuſtome was, ſays the Scholiaſt of *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in thoſe ancient times, * *Plutarch* ſhall thus informe you. Ἀμφορεὺς ὄινου καὶ κλωμάτις, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and laſt of all the *Phallus*. In which Solemnity the Poets in Waines following the pomp, might without controul laugh, ſcorne, and deride any they met, ſays x *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*,

t In Demoſt. pag. 40.

u Steſ. β p. 107.

* περὶ φιλόπλυ. p. 345.

x Antiq. Rom. l. 7.

ſæus; or were wont, as the y Schol. of *Nazian*: to rayl upon each other. Whence τωμᾶδιν, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in good ſence ſometimes z to celebrate the pomp, or go in proceſſion in honour to the feſtival) and ἡ τωμῳδία, a ſcandal or reproach, ὕβρεις, λοιδορία. Whence likewiſe came the Greek proverb, b ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης λέγειν, *tanquam ex plaustro loqui*, and ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης ὑβρίζειν *tanquam ex plaustro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in abuſe. Which that they might do the better without ſhame, or bluſhing, ſometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca*, *olei fæce*, with the dregs of oyl, ſaies *Donat* or of wine (for ſo I interpret τρύγα) from which Poets by d *Ariſtophanes* are called τρυγῳδοποιούς. *Horace*- *Perunctis fæcibus ora*. Sometimes would they put on vizards, e which leaſt they ſhould hurt the head were defended from the skin with a wol'en cap named πιλίδιον. A word elegantly uſed by *Demoſthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunitie of the perſons that wore it, Οὐκ ὀιει δίκην δώσειν πλικύτων ἢ τοσούτων ἀδικημάτων κἂν πιλίδιον λαβὼν ὅτι τλῶ κεφαλῶ. Think not to eſcape ſcot-free for ſuch villanie, though you get a *pileum* on your head. We may apply it, in threatning to any ſlanderer, of of whom we ſurely intend to be revenged. But I ſeem to forget the Poet, while I ſpeak of the Stage; I will therefore return to him. *Theſpis*, as I ſaid, was the firſt that invented Tragœdies; ſo called, as *Donat* tels, becauſe (leſt there ſhould be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be ſtirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namque pro dono bis dabatur.* τράγος is a Goat, and ᾠδὴ a ſong. *Horace, Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum.* Before that time ſome ſay that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragœdies but the moſt received opinion is this which *Horace* hath ſet down of *Theſpis*. Before him there was no art of poeſie Tragical, but at their feſtivals, when they aſcribed all their mirth and delight to their Gods, they did eſpecial-

y Loco laud.
z Hermog. Meth. de Eloquentia, c. 2. p. 519.
a Dem. pro Coron. p. 134.
b Schol. Ariſt p. 142.
c Ulpian in loc. cit. Dem.
d Nubibus p. 141.
e Vlpian in Dem. p. 254
f De falſa Legatione.

ly to *Bacchus* (and so afterward, when the Actors are called Διονύσου τεχνῖται, and τεχνῖται, simply by *Demosthenes*, by *Donat* *Artifices*. The word is used for Juglers, and such as *Hokus Pokus* in *h Theophrastus*) they would feast & afterward scoff and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their solemnitie. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, and from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up. They would likewise cast forth αὐτοσχεδιάσματα as they term them, in *i Virgils* language, *versus incomptos*, k*Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi solitos & sine arte.* For they had of old but two sorts of verses, *Heroicks*, in which they sung the praise of Gods and Noble men, and from this in a short time with small care grew a Tragœdie, the other sort was *Iambicks* as toying and lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a Comœdie. At first small was the difference between a Tragœdie and Comœdie, *l constat sanè primis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reason is because even Tragœdies had their wantonness and petulancie. At first they sung in honour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people saw they cryed down, with Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, whence our proverbial adverb is fitly used ἀπροσδιονύσως, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the satyrs did *præludere*. But after that, when a Tragœdie took state they excluded the Satyrs, and were only for sad and serious persons; by which mournful poems the people were wont to be cast down, sympathizing with the person represented, therefore to cheer them up a *Chorus* of wanton Satyrs were brought in by *Thespis* as *m Horace.*

g Orat. παραπρ. p. 242. *h* Charact. vi. Casaub.

i Georg. 2. *k* Casaub. de Sat. Poesi. l. 1.

l Casaub. ib.

m De arte poet

Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, & asper
Incolumi gravitati, jocum tentavit, eò quòd
Illecebris erat & gratâ novitate morandus
Spectator, functusque sacris, & potus, & exlex.

In a Satyrick play, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or else the persons

persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of the mindes of the spectators, they would bring in Satyrs for sports sake, and many of their Tragœdies had some mixture of Satyrick sport, saies n *Casaubon.* *Fuisse aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas.* Of this I say *Thespis* was the first inventer, who likewise to ease the *Chorus* (o for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage, to whom *Æschylus* added one and *Sophocles* another, so the number was three, *Æschylus* is δευτεραγωνιστὴς, *Sophocles* is τειταγωνιστὴς, a word put for an obscure & base fellow in p *Demosthenes*, *Vlpian*, ὡς ἀδοκιμώτατος καὶ πονηρός, speaking of *Æschines*, if I remember, *Tully* cals them Actors *secundarum & tertiarum partium* b *Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, sæpe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere quàm ipse primarum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quàm maximè excellat.* But let me speak what I have to say of a Tragœdie. *a* None was permitted once to act *Æschylus*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tregœdies, but they were to be recited to the Scribe, that the Actors might (as I conceive repeat them. Τὸν τῶν πάλαι γεγραμμένα παραγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, ὡς ἐξὸν καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑποκρίνεσθαι. And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Orator, were they commanded to be transcribed, & kept under custodie ἐν κοινῷ. Yet the *b* Author of the life of *Æschylus* writes that the people made a decree, that he should receive such a summe of gold, that would διδάσκειν the plaies of *Æschylus* after his death. I put the word διδάσκειν, *docere*, Because Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were said εἰς διδασκαλῶν πεφοπέναι ἱρᾶζώμενοι, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the ancients lay out so much mony upon their Theaters. *c* *Sed immane quos quantosque sumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræsentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utrisque emendari, at prudentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam magistratuum, cum summo spectatorum fructu,*

n P. 126. de Sat. Poesi.

o Laert. p. 220

p 184.

q In divinat.

a Plutarch. in vita X. Rhet. p. 452. B.

b Juxta finem.

c Heinsius Poleg. ad Aristarchum Sacrum.

in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac graveſſima ſubinde publico ſuppeditari crederent conſilia. Not unfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theater. *I came hither to teach you, and not to be taught by you.*

d Athenæus Dip lib. 6. pag. 268. vid. Caſaub. *e* Pag. 270. *f* Lib. 10.

Hence of a Tragœdie or Comœdie the Greek writers ſay, *d* διδάζει) *docetur fabula*, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as ſometime διακρίνειν, as you may ſee in *c Athenæus*. The following Poets did not alwaies repreſent their own Fables, but oft-times their predeceſſors, ſo ſaies *f Quintilian*, the people permitted the works of *Æſchylus* to be dealt with, becauſe in many places his verſes were not ſet in order. He brought great grace to the ſtage, & firſt taught σκηνογραφίαν, the painting of the Scenes, which ſome think *Horace* to aim at, when he ſaies, *Modicis inſtravit pulpita ſignis.* Which becauſe it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay ſpoken affirmatively by ſome) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did πολλὰ καινουργεῖν, bring in many new things; ſuch as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himſelf acted) by reaſon of the badneſs of his own voice; he found out white ſhooes, which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelve; he fitted likewiſe his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. But that he invented σκηνογραφίαν I cannot not finde. Somewhat likewiſe was added by *Euripides*: *g* as to ſet out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragedie, as you may obſerve; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the laſt & principle point of that one action which he would repreſent, which by the glory of our nation *h* Sr *Phil. Sidney*, is not paſt by as frivolous without noting. Theſe three were the Princes of the Tragick ſtile, who exhibited to the People every year at ſome certain ſolemnities their Poems, ſtriving who ſhould get the victory by the approbation of Judges, choſen for that purpoſe, called *i* Διονυσιακοὶ κριταὶ, and *k* Κριταὶ ὁπὶ Διονύσῳ; Ten in number, think ſome at firſt, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Becauſe

g T. Magiſter.

h *In the defence of Poeſie.*

i Heinſius in Proleg. ad Ariſtarchum ſacrum.

k Æſchines cont. Cteſiph

cauſe when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Syrus*, *Aphepſion* the *Archon* in gratulation to him, choſe not the Judges as ſoon as the Theater was filled, and ſpectators placed: but preſently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captains, of each Tribe one, after accuſtomed ſacrifice he ſwore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æſchylus* grieving went into *Sicilie*, where he died, and was buried near *Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of theſe Critick Judges was alwayes ten. This we acknowledge done in teſtimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* ſervice. And yet in judgment upon Tragœdians, the number might be ſo great. For there ſeems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. The number of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be ſuch as we ſpeak; the power incontrolable, as from whom there was no appeal to others. m *Cum neque provocatio ab iis eſſet, neque de quibus illi judicarent, magiſtratus cæteri ſententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb. n πέντε κριτῶν ὀν γύαιαν κῖται. *ſub quinque Judicibus lis eſt.* The o Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks ſomewhat uncertain. Judges, quoth he, paſs cenſures upon the Comœdians, and they who had five voices were happy. Thoſe were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equal voices. For the odd gave a great ſtroak. Hence wiſhes the *Chorus* in the behalf of the Poet-- Ἑνὶ κριτῇ νικᾶν μόνον, to be Victor by one voice onely. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had free liberty of ſuffrages beyond the power of the people, the *Comick* had not: For when *Ariſtophanes* taught his Νεφέλας, they ſo much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conqueror, ἀγωνοθέτας τοῖς κριταῖς ἀνωθεν Αειχυλίδην, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γενέσθαι, ſays p *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Ariſtophanes* uppermoſt (as the faſhion was, which q *Ariſtophanes*

l Plut Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

m Heinſius loco laudato.

n Zenobius.

o Ad Aves p. 562.

p Var. H. l. 2.

q Avib. p 562.

nes cals πρωτεῖον ὃν πυκνίοις, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiisve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and spectators.

r Loco laud.

r *Aristophan.*

Ὅμνυμ' ἀεὶ τέτοις πᾶσι νικᾶν τοῖς κριταῖς,
Καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι---Where the Scholiast interprets ὄμνυμι truly as it is to be understood, ἔυχομαι, to supplicate. And good reason, For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use

f Ranis pag. 428.

f *Aristophanes* points, saying-- ἐκ ἐβάλλετο; nay, sometime would they hiss them, which they terme κλάζειν and συρίττειν, sometime stamp them out of the Theater, which they call πατταλοκοπεῖν by

t Lib 6. c. 19.

t *Pollux* interpreted ἐξύλιε ἀπὸ πέτρας κατακρούειν. Another difference is that

u Æschines contra Ctesiph. pag. 98.

u the *Comick* Judges were punished if they judged not right, the *Tragick* not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no oddes between the Critick Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. But of this, Reader, you may determine as your authors shall afford authority: Before Judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, & they who in their Opinion lost the day, were said ὑπιδεῖν, by

* Heinsius Prolegom.

x *Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragœdies, were the holy days of *Bacchus*, called *Dionysia in Agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the moneth *Posideon*, on the *Anthesteria*, or *Dionysia* in *Lymnis*, in the month *Anthesterion*, or *Dionysia* in ἄστει in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in

x Sat. Poesi.

y Platone pag. 220.

y *Laertius*, which some deny, yet the same write, that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festival. I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient dayes to entertain their people with

with more playes then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modò singulas committerent fabulas, modò plures,* says z *Casaubon*: Sometime in the same year three, and then was it called τριλογία; sometime four, and then they stiled it πεντalogία, a Τὰ δ' τέτλαρα δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof, says mine Author, the fourth was a Satyrical play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Oresteia*; to wit, Ἀγαμέμνων. Χοηφόροι. Εὐμενίδες. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides*. *Medea. Philoctetes. Dictys.* The fourth was Θεισαί, says the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter seems to me not to reach to the expression of the Greek word Θεισαί, Σάτυροι; *Messores, Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus *Messores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word beares this sense is sufficiently dilucidated by b *Casaubon*. That the greatest task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noon. The number of them in Comœdies were twenty four, and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of four; but στοῖχοι four, each στοῖχος six men) in Tragœdies fifty, until the time of *Æschylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which so terrified the people, c that the children and younger sort fainted, and the women suffered abortion; for which reason, says *Pollux*, the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fifteen, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into στοῖχοι, and ζυγὰ. Ζυγὸν was when the *Chorus* entred by three, and then it was called κατὰ ζυγὰ πάροδον, by file. Στοῖχος, when they came on the stage in ranck five at a time; and this they term κατὰ στοίχους. Sometime one of them entred alone, which they say καθ' ἕνα. Of interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had above three; but if a fourth spake, that they named παραχορήγημα; and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth Actor, it was stiled παρεισκλώσιον. To speak of the several verses of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*:

z De Srtyrica Poesi p. 131.

a Laertius loco citato.

b Lib. laudat.

c Author vitæ Æschyl.

and I had rather ſpeak of the action, then the art in compoſing and yet not much, only this of their motions, termed στροφαὶ and ἀντιστροφαὶ. Στροφὴ, ſays the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in Analogy to the motion of the univerſe ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς, from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt*; becauſe *Homer* calls the *Eaſt* the right hand, the *Weſt* the left: Contrary to the *Hebrews*, who term the *South Iamin*, which ſignifies the right hand, and the *North* they counted the left. Ἀντιστροφὴ was a turning from the *Weſt* to the *Eaſt*, that is, from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another poſture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be ſo in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Muſick, which I believe) to expreſs the immobility of the earth they ſtood ſtill. They uſed *Epodes* for the moſt part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the ſtage. Thus much of Tragœdies; the authors of which were highly of old eſteemed of; inſomuch as after the diſmal diſcomfeit of the d *Athenians* in *Scicilie*, they were relieved, who could repeat ſomewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by e *Lycurgus*, and eſtabliſhed in *Athens*, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* had Statues erected in braſs for the continuation of their memory. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applauſe taught, as f *Horace*,

Succeſſit vetus his Comœdia, non ſine multa
Laude--

He ſays, *vetus Comœdia*, becauſe a Comœdy was divided into three, or if you pleaſe ſo to ſpeak, two ſorts, the Old and New. I ſaid three ſorts, becauſe * the old was different from it ſelf. The meaning is, that the old Comœdy, of which *Suſarion* (by ſome named *Sannyrion*,) was Author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the ſmoaking Altars, ſung *ſimplex carmen*, ſome naked verſes, ſayes *Donat*. Which by *Cratinus* was redreſſed; for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his ſport profit, I mean for inſtruction. For under the *Democracy* it was lawful to exagitate and propoſe for

d Plut. in fine vitæ Niciæ.
e Plut. in vit. x. Reſp. Pauſ. Atticis. p. 18.
f De arte Poetica.
* Grammat. ἡ Παλαιὰ ἑαυτῆς διαφέρει.

for a laughing ſtock Captains and corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and ſuch as lead a deſolute life, naming the men upon the ſtage and fitting the Actors with vizards bearing the ſhape of thoſe whom they intend to deride. But as the ſtate grew to an *Oligarchie*, that lycence was taken away *Eupolis* being caſt into the ſea by thoſe againſt whom he wrote his Comœdie *Baptæ*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not *a* ὀνομαστὶ Κωμῳδεῖν, to name any whom they wrote his Comœdie of. Of which *Horace*,

Sed in vitium libertas excedit, & vim
Dignam lege rege. Lex eſt accepta, Choruſque
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

a Hermog. Partiti. p. 76.

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leaſt any of their abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, and inſteed of abuſing ſtates & people, they fell upon ancient Poets, or ſome part of Hiſtorie not truly written, perſonating the Actors ſo as to be moſt ridiculous: *b* ſometimes Scoffing on the ſtage at mean men, and this they termed Νέα Κωμῳδία, the new Comedie. But afterward it was a piece of their *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the ſtage, unleſs they would themſelves, ſaies *c Xenophon*; knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort, πλέονες, γεωργοί, δυνάμενοι. Some are of opinion that no player came on the ſtage until thirtie or fortie; I diſpute not the matter; ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragœdie at twenty eight, in which doubtleſs himſelf came on the Stage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. *d* Æmilius Probus. *In ſcenam vero prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in eiſdem gentibus (Græcis) fuiſſe turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honeſtate remota ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld theſe plaies and paſtimes was in the market place, where they nayled ſcaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in

b Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt, &c.

c Athen. Rep.

d Præfatione ad vitas p. 2.

e Meurſ. Att. Lect. l. 4. c. ult.

ancient time they had no Theater of ſtone, only of wood, which they call ἰκελα. ſ *Ariſtophan.*

ſ Theſmoph, pag. 787.

— Απὸ τῶν ἰκελων
Ὑποβλέψας' ἡμᾶς ——

Theſe were built by ſome, who upon ſome conſideration of mony admitted any to a ſeat, named therefore g Θεαλῶνας. Once it ſeems places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuſes. For ſtriving to get places, there roſe wrangling and brawles, and fights, wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place ſhould be hired for two *oboli* (in the Conſulſhip of *Diaphantus*, a *Drachme*, ſay ſome, whence roſe the Proverb, Δραχμὴ χαλῶσα; becauſe at the eſtabliſhing of it, there fell haile) This mony they called Θεωρικὸν, from Θεωρῶν: becauſe with it they did θέαν ἀγορᾶζειν, buy a ſeat to behold the ſhew exhibited. Now becauſe the poor people had not to give, & ſo were deprived of the ſpectacle, *Pericles* deſiring to be popular, made a law that they ſhould receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man, *i* For the right of enacting which mony, they were to produce the authorty of the *Lexiarchical Rolles*, as appears out of *Demoſthenes*. For the diſtribution of this were certain officers appointed, named οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ Θεωρικά. But afterwards *Apollodorus* ſtrove that in warr and publick neceſſity, theſe ſummes might be imployed in military affairs, but he endeavoured in vain; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capital for any that ſhould attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes k *Demoſthenes* deſiſt, willing, yet not daring to perſwade to convert the mony to the uſe of the Armie. But ſee the folly of them, l For they ſpent as much on theſe ſports as in obtaining the maſterie and libertie of *Greece*. And the end was miſerable: for they became effœminate, and ſo put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoak. m *Juſtin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amiſſo, quem æmulari conſueverant, in ſegnitiem torporemque reſoluti, non ut olim in claſſem exercituſque, ſed in dies feſtos, apparatuſque undor um, redditus publicos*

g Caſaub. in Theoph. p. 245.

h Zenobius.

i Cont. Leocha. p. 617. n. 50. 51.

k Olynth. 1. pag. 17.

l Lacon apud Plut. Mor. p. 421.

m Lib. 6. fine.

publicos effundunt: & cum auctoribus nobiliſſimis, poetiſque theatra celebrant, frequentiùs ſcenam, quàm caſtra viſentes. Verſificatores Oratoreſque meliores, quàm duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo ante milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum eſt. Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia Græcorum, ſordidum & obſcurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theater I will ſay little, as alſo of the ſtage: Only that the places in the Theater were not promiſcuous. For there was a diſtinction between the Senators and younger ſort. The Senators were named *n* βουλευτικὸν, among which it is probable the Judges had the firſt place, as *o Pollux*. The ſeats for the youth were called ἐφηβικὸν. One part of the ſtage was *Orcheſtra*, in which was θυμέλη, either a Tribunal or an Altar, That upon all their ſtages there was an Alter ſacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat*: he ſaies it ſtood on one ſide of the ſtage, before the doors, *Pollux*: who names it Αλτὶνς. There was moreover a Table called Ειλὼς, on which before the time of *Theſpis* ſome body aſcending in the Poets place, did anſwer the *Chorus*. *p Plutarch* thinks θέατρον to be derived from Θεὸς, becauſe that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Muſick* only for inſtitution of youth and praiſe of their Gods, ſung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

n Ariſtoph. pag. 578.
o Lib 4. c. 19. p. 202.
p De Muſica. p. 442.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis, Νόμοι, ἄγεκροι καὶ ἔγγεγροι, ψήφισμα. Περβόλιμα. *De ſanciendis Legibus.*

* Lib. 2. p. 27

AS * *Juſtin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* goverment paſſing by the perpetual and decennial Conſuls, and naming only the yearly: ſo hath he erred in the original of their Laws making *Solon* the father of them. But it ſeems otherwiſe. For, as *b Gerardus* hath obſerved *Theſeus* gave Lawes to the *Athenians*. And *c Plutarch* witneſſeth, that when he congregated the *Attick People*, and conſtituted a *Democracie*, he reſerved only to himſelf the government of war and cuſtodie of the Laws. Δημοκρατίαν (πρωτόνων) αὐτὸς μόνον ἄρχεντι πολέμω καὶ νόμων φύλακι χρησαμένων. Add to this, that before the knowledg of letters and writing, it was a cuſtome among the ancients to ſing their Laws, leſt they might forget them, uſed in the daies of *d Ariſtotle* by the *Agathyrſi*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the

b Ariſt. Plut. pag. 67.

c In Theſeo p. 8. l. 2.

d Prolem. τμιθ. πρ. κή. fol. 189. b.

rules

rules of Muſick, for the true keeping of time, ſinging, and playing, are ſuppoſed to be called Νόμοι. Neither may it be thought otherwiſe, becauſe all the notes of the *c Lydian, Hypolydian*, &c. *Dorick, Hypodorick*, &c. *Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Jonick*, &c. ſongs were diſtinguiſhed by the Alphabet. Yet f *Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from thoſe bounds, which the Muſitians of old preſcribed, for the tuning of voices or inſtruments, leſt they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it οἰκείαν τάσιν. g *Idem.* Νόμοι δὲ περιγραφόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξῆν πλανᾶσθαι καὶ ἀτάκτως φέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τάσεις. The *Greeks*, ſayes h *Cicero*, think the cauſe of this word, *jus ſuum cuique tribuendo*, intimating νέμειν, which ſignifies to diſtribute, becauſe the Law gives every man his due. Thus we ſee, that there were Laws of yore; let i *Juſtin* ſay, *Nullæ civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*, That the City was without Law, becauſe the wills of Kings were Laws. In ſucceeding ages, and before *Solon* to, *Draco* gave Laws, living about the three k hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His Acts, ſayes l *Ælian*, were called Θέσμοι. Ἐκαλοῦντο δ' ὀυκοῦν θεσμοί. Now θεσμὸς, by m *Ulpian* is interpreted νόμος ἀδιαλλάκτως καὶ πῶς δεῖ νομοθετῶν. A Law given in precept how to make a Law, And yet n *Ariſtotle* calls them νόμους, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great ſeverity. Which gave occaſion to a *Herodotus* to ſay, that they were not the Laws of man, ἀλλὰ δράκοντος, in a double ſenſe of the word, which is alſo put for a Dragon. And *b Demades*, that they were not written with black, but blood. For he puniſhed every peccadillo almoſt with death, thoſe that were convicted of idleneſs, or ſtealing of pothearbs, alike to the ſacrilegious and man-ſlayers. Wherefore they were made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except thoſe which concerned murther, intituled Φ ΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him ſucceeded * *Solon*, a man ſo well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peers, that he was beloved of both

e Vide Alypium in Iſagoge Muſica.
f In libro de Muſica.
g Loco citato pag 437.
h De leg. lib. 1 fol. 16. b.
i Loco laud.
k Clem. Alex. pag. 226.
l Variæ hiſt. l 8. c. 10.
m Arg. orat. con. Lepti.
n Polit. 2. c. 10.
a Ariſt. Rhet. l. 2. c. 44.
b Plut in Solone p. 63. l. 2.
* Demoſth. pag. 70.
* *His lawes continued 100 years ſayes* Plutarch *in ſtrength. In* Solone p. 66 *and afterwards by little and little decayed.* Ælian. Var. hiſ. l 2. c. 22. *If any ſpoke againſt them, he had corporal puniſhment.*

both, having ſtill a care, leſt while he ſhould ſide with one, he might diſpleaſe the other. Whom, for his uprightneſs, *c Juvenal* ſtiles *Juſtum*, and for the care of the Republique, which *d Demoſthenes* averres he had in all his Lawes, *e Ariſtophanes* termes, φιλόδημον, a lover of the people. *f Plato* brings him learning his Laws from a *Barbarian*: And *g Plutarch* tells us that he travelled afterwards into *Ægypt*. But it ſeems by *h Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Lawes he had the approbation and judgment of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts. *Et Solon adjutus ſententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, latis juſto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque Juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* *i Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. Firſt, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the countries their names written, and by what meanes they ſuſtained themſelves; wherein if any were found falſe, or that lived by unjuſt gaine, he fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a cuſtome among them, that payment ſhould be made onely with the goods of the debtor, and that the body ſhould not ſuffer. For they thought the eſtate alone to be ſubject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Citys in which they lived. Neither is it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergo hazard for their country, ſhould for uſurie be committed to Priſon, or the Country be in jeopardy for the avarice of ſome one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the firſt decree, as *k Laertius* and *l Plutarch* ſay, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithal to ſatiſfie the craving loaner, were compelled to ſerve. He therefore cut off all uſe, *a* as ſome write, or elſe leſſened the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his Law Σεισάχθεια: ſo called from Σείειν, to ſhake off, and ἄχθος, an heavy weight. Forgiving himſelf firſt, *c* as *Laertius*, ſeven talents; or, as *d Plutarch* five. But this ſeems to have been done for the avoiding of the aſperſion caſt upon him as acceſſary to the injuries of ſome, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

e Sat. 10. ver. 274.
d Κατ. Ἀνδρ. Pag 390.
e Pag. 190
f In Timæo.
g In Solone. p. 66. l. 31.
h Lib. 22.
i Bibliotheca
k Initio vitæ Solonis.
l In Solone p. 62. l. 8.
a Plutarch. pag. 62.
b Androtio.
c Loco laud.
d Pag. 62. *fifteen ſayes* Polyzetus Rhodius.

much mony with hope of never making reſtitution. *e Caſaubon* is conceited, that this was not his firſt exploit, but long after he had ſate at the Sterne of the Weale-publick. Yet it ſeems probable; There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common *people*. Which he, to bring in an innovation of Laws, did willingly invent; and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in teſtimony of their approbation, they kept a Feſtival named *f* Σισάχθεια. Here likewiſe you may obſerve the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their own vices, putting gilded names on thoſe things; which themſelves were aſhamed of, calling *g* πόρνας, ἑταίρας; φόρους, ζυντάξεις; φυλακὰς, φρουρὰς τῆς πόλεως, λυσιωτήλιον οἴκημα, as our blades name drunkenneſſe good fellowſhip; whores, ſhe ſinners; and niggardiſe, thriftineſſe; ſpringing from this root of *Solons*, who called χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν, Σισάχθειαν. *h* To theſe Lawes two ends were propoſed, mutual commerce, and direction of behaviour towards the ſtate. *i* To curb wickedneſs, and unjuſtice; and to puniſh offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the *Athenian* Civil Law. Each City, as *k Juſtinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam ſi quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile Athenienſium, non erraverit.* They were engraven in tables of wood, called *l* ἄξονες, triangular, if we may believe the *m* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, who quotes *Ariſtotle* and *Apollodorus*, witneſſing that they were called κύρβεις alſo, παρὰ τὸ κορυφοῦσθαι εἰς ὕψος ἀναπεταμένον, from the elevation. *n* Some are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods and their worſhip were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Lawes belonging to men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* ſayes that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, becauſe they were written in ſtone, and ſo ſet up, *a* which from their ſtanding, were termed στῆλαι. I know that decrees, merits, praiſe and diſpraiſe too, were written in ſtone. Whence *b* λογοὶ στηλιτευτικοὶ may be put for a Treatiſe

e In Laert. pag. 14.

f Plutarch. p. 62. l. 43.

g Plutarch. loco laudato.

h Demoſth. pag. 477.

i Idem p. 484

k Inſtitut. l. 1 Tit. 2. Sed jus quidem civile ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti Athenienſium.

l Sch. Apollo Rho. Argo. 4.

m In Avibus pag 604.

a ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑστάναι

b Vide Nonnum in Naz. στηλιτ. α.

tending to a mans disgrace. But this by the way. These Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the dayes of *e Plutarch*, some reliques of them were to be seen. The *Autographon* or copy written with his own hand was not removed, but those that were transcribed by them. Because in matters of doubt and controversie they might have recourse unto them. * For the distinction of which, some think that ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the Table; but to me it seems improbable, for then the number of the Table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table sometime could not contain a Law. For we read in *d Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averse from the guess of *Petitus*, who supposes the Orator to mean the Law which afterwards he quotes; nor ignorant of the Opinion of some, who think that it is to be understood of the under line. For the Lawes being written βουστροφηδόν, *conversо sive retrogrado literarum ordine*, sayes *e Sylburgius*; which *f Pausanias* explains, ἀπὸ τῆ λαιᾶ ἐπὶ δεξιῶν, from the right hand to the left, *g* or more significantly, Ἀπὸ τῆ πέρατος τῆς ἕτερας ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἰνῶν τὸ δεύτερον ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλῳ δρόμῳ. When the second verse begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Diaulus*, or if I shall speak neerest to the word, as husbandmen turn their Oxen when they plough, as for example.

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ
ΥΦΞΨΩΧ

See those that have written of divers wayes of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned, ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος. After this manner were the Lawes written, and doubtless there was some customes as strong as Lawes. For although the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of custome, and the *Athenians* by written statutes, as *h Josephus*, yet surely had their customes great force, insomuch as *i Aristophanes* uses νόμος for ΨΦ ... Αἰσχρὸν νόμῳ κεκλῦσθαι. a *Scholiastes*, νόμον τὸν ὑπὸ πάντα ἢ γεγραμμένον φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ΨΦ. So did the *b Greeks* divide

e In Solone pag. 66.

* Pollux. l. 8. pag. 408.

d Solone p. 63. l. 37.

e In Pausaniam p. 426.
f In Eliacis pag. 174.
g Eodem lib. pag. 165.

h Contra Appionem. Vide Justinian. Inst. l. 1. tit. 2.
i In Avibus pag. 576.
a Pag. 577.
b Vide Justinianum,

divide their Lawes into ἰσγραφους καὶ ἀγεγράφους, written and unwritten. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus approbavit*, use. The *c* Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus Νόμος ἐστὶν ἄγγραφος συνήθεια. συνήθεια δ' ἄγραφος νόμος. A Law is written custome, and a custome an unwritten law. Besides these there were decrees, which they termed ψηφίσματα, *pſephiſmata*, a word used by *d Cicero*, nothing different, ψηφισμάτων δύναται διαφέρειν οἱ νόμοι, *e Demoſthenes*, who means in vertue and power. For they differ much. *f* A Law maintains justice once found, common for ever. A *Pſephiſma* follows the necessity of the time, it differs in events: it directs not warlick affairs, but is applyed unto the occasion of arms, and laws can be abrogated, so degrees changed. And here ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater then a law. Of decrees there were two sorts; *h* τῆς Βουλῆς ψηφίσματα such as the Senate by it self established, which were but of twelve months continuance; to the confirming of which, the people not convocated, or their consent required, termed ἐπιβουλεύματα, which *Demoſthenes* proves to be ἐπιψηφίσματα. *Ulpian.* ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν. Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which lasted but a year. *k Cicero. Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto, Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt.* In other decrees the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force a longer time. *l* τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γινόμενα, καὶ πλείονα μένει χρόνον. And therefore we may easily know a *probuleuma*. Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ only, gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma* from a *decree* of the peoples confirming, by this observation. Ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, in the beginning of a decree, shews it to be ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου κύριον λαμβανον. Senate alwaies sate in consultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any damage might acrew to the State by it or no, the Law commanding that no decree should go forth without deliberation. *m* ἀπροβούλευτον ψήφισμα μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸν δήμον. Which done the *Prytanes* took certain tables and wrote on them

c In Alacem Locarium.

d In Orat. pro Flacco.

e Cont. Lept. p. 296.

f Ariſtides. Tom. 2. p. 30.

g Demoſth. p. 416.

h Demoſth. κατ' Αειστοκράτους. p. 418.

k In Verr. 1.

l Ulpian loco laudato.

m Ulp. in Arg. Orat. And p. 181. Vide Dem. p. 182. n. 10. vi. Plut. Solone. pag. 63. l. 31.

Such or ſuch a day about ſuch a time there ſhould be an aſſembly to conſult of theſe and theſe affaires: and this they called *a* προγεγραμμα. When then they were aſſembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, ſtood, if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any ſhould raze out a Decree of any Table. And he was brought in queſtion of life, who ſhould preſume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now becauſe future time might haply perceive ſome inconveniencies to ariſe by overſight in the Law-giver, and that as abuſes ſhould happen, which in his daies were not diſcerned, ſo there would be a neceſſity of making new ſtatutes: It was ordained therefore that every year there ſhould be ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων; which *b Ulpian* expounds διάσκεψις ὅ, τι δεῖ ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν νόμων. A conſideration of what ought to be done concerning the Laws. *c* The manner was thus. Every eleventh day of *July* in the aſſembly, after the Cryer had made his Prayers, as the faſhion was, & ſhall anon be ſpoken of, the Lawes were read over in order. Firſt thoſe which concerned their Senate, next their weal publick, and thirdly the nine *Archons*, & afterwards the other Magiſtrates. Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for the Senate, and ſo for the Common-weal, &c. If any of the Lawes in force were to be abrogated, it was adjurnied until the laſt of the three daies of the three *Convocations*; on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the reviſing and reciting of the Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chief of the Aſſembly, were to *d* acquaint them with it. Five men at the firſt meeting, were choſen out of all the *Athenians*, who ſhould patronize the Law to be aboliſhed; and according to the Judgement of the *Nomothetæ*, choſen out of the Councel of five hundred, was the buſineſs carried, that the Lawes ſhould be of none effect, or full ſtrength. Whoſoever would bring in a new Law, was to write it on a Table, *e* εἰς λεύκωμα, *Demoſt.* the form thereof, and ſet it up at the Statutes of the *Heroes* before ſpoken of, *f* παρὰ τὰς ἐπωνύμους,

which

a Sch. in Naz. ϛηλ α. pag. 55. vid. Ulp in Dem. p. 240.

b Demoſt. pag. 445.

c Vid. Dem. loco cit.

d χρηματίζειν Demoſt. Ulp. *expounds* ἀναβάλλειν, *to report.*

e Cont. Timocr. p. 446.

f Demoſth. p. 297.

which ſtanding in a place conſpicuous, that ſome certain daies before the Seſſions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; & if any ſo pleaſed, he might at the propoſal of the Law, declare his mind either for or againſt it, as at the preferring of *a Bill in our high Court of Parliament*, where it is not denyed any *Burges*, or *Knight* of a ſhire, to ſpeak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill, or ſome part thereof, or in oppoſition to it or ſome one clauſe. Provided likewiſe that he who attempted to enact a new Statute, ſhould take care for the diſanulling of the old, that might contradict it, otherwiſe he came within the compaſs of παρανομίας γραφῆς, a writ of *Tranſgreſſion of the Laws*: which was of two ſorts. Firſt, when time is not obſerved in writing them, *a* πρὸς τὸ ἀεισμῆσον χρόνον. Next when one is made thats adverſe to a former. And if it ſo hapned, that any perſwaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publick, he might be queſtioned within a *b* years ſpace; *c* but if the time was expired, he could not. *d* Nay they ſlew *Eudemus*, a *Cydiathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; ſcarce different in that one example from the *Locri*; among whom he that would propoſe a Law ſhould do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requeſts pleaſed not, he ſtraight way powred out his ſoul under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators which are called *e* δημαγωγοὶ, becauſe they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery, wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learn out of *f Demoſthenes*, and therefore are they deciphered by *g Athenæus*, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντες.

a Vlp. in Dem. p 297.
b Dem Orat. Arg. con. Lep.
c Dem. p 419
d Id p. 468.
e Gellius l 3. c 13. If. Calliſtratus Athenis Orator fuit, quos illi δημαγωγὸς appellant. Livie Dec. 4. *of* Athens ubi Oratio plurimum poller favore multitudinis alitur. Ulpian δημαγωγὸς ὁ δήμου ἄρχων.
f Pag. 468. n. 225.
g Dipnoſ. l. 12.

CAP. II.

De Comitiis. Κυρία καὶ Σύγκλητος Ἐκκλησία, *&c.*

THE Aſſemblies were called by the *Prytanes* four times in five and thirty dayes. *f* In the firſt they confir-

f Pollux, l. 8. c. 9. Sect. 7. pag 398.

med the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out. They heard publick causes, looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speak of private and publick affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambassadors, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. In the fourth, they treated of holy things, such as belonged to their Gods & worship of them. The first meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*; the second the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference between the *g* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* and *Ulpian* in the daies on which they came together, one making the first day of the Month to be the day on which the first Assembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which seems truest. And whereas they both write that every Month there were three lawful assemblies, to wit, on the first, tenth, thirtieth; or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, we are not so to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They seem to have been called Κυρίαι Ἐκκλησίαι, because in them they did κυρῶν ψηφίσματα, establish decrees, as the *a* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies there were which are termes *b* σύγκλητοι when war, or any sudden accident troubled the Sate, then the people were called together over & above those four times in a *Prytanea*. They are styled σύγκλητοι, because the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation some went about the City and called them. There is likewise *c* κατάκλησία, when they were summoned out of the fields to go to the Assembly. It seems to me that the Crier in the streets on their lawful assemblies gave some token when they should hasten; and so much *d Aristophanes* witnesses, bringing in the women speaking that it is high time to be stirring, because the Cryer Δεύτερον κεκράγυιαν, had cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some warning

g In Achar. pag. 371.
h In Dem. p. 445.
a In Acharn.
b Ulp. & Sch. Arist. loc. laud.
c Pol. p. 405.
d In concionantib. pag. 725.

warning, and compulsion too; for so slow were they in coming to Assemblies, that the *Logistæ* were fain to throng them to the Meetings, as the Schol. of *Aristophanes* on these words, Τὰς δ' ἱμάσας ὁπ Λεπρῶν. Sometimes they took a rope, and dying it with red earth, they sent two slaves into the market place, who should one of the one side of the way, & the other of the opposite, pursue the people, and to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain piece of money. Hence in the *f* Comœdian -- Κἄνω κἀκεῖ τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσὶ μιμιλατωμβίον. Up and down they shun the cord stained with Vermilion. And again-- ἡ μίλτος ἣ Ζεὺ φίλαπτι γέλων περίσχεν ἣν περόῤῥαινον κύκλῳ. *Jupiter*, the red earth which flew about made laughter. *g* Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barracado all the streets except those that led to the *Ecclesia*: Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they brought into the Market, lest people intent on their traffique should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When they had met oft-times the company would be dismissed at some prodigious signe, as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the like, which they called *h* Διοσημία: *i* and earthquakes, or other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting, until the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to sit, one man Sacrificed; which rites were called *a* Εἰσητήρια, because they were done at the *entry of the Councel*. *b Ulpian.* πρωγενῆ τινὰ δὲ εἰσήνεγκε ὁ βουλῆς ὁ τὰς θυσίας ποιούμενος. I will not justly say that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was sate, and yet I may presume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets *c Aristophanes* witnessing that immediately preceding the Sessions this custom was observed by one whom they named φυσιαρχον, from φύσια, τὰ καθάρσια, which signifies cleansing, because by that he purged the Assembly, Theater, and congress of the people. After they were sate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, *e* and cursed those who should offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he speaks with a *loud* voice

e In Achar. pag. 406.

f Aristoph. Achar. p. 371

g Schol. Aristoph. Ieco laudato.

h Vide Arist. pag. 379. *i* Plut. p. 386 l. 7. & 384. l. 34.

a Demosth. παραπρ. 241

b Vide & Ulpian. p. 351.

c In Concion p. 728. A.

d Demosth. παραπρ. 213

e Id. p. 418.

voice, *f* τὶς ἀγορεύειν βέλεται; Who will make a ſpeech; whereupon one of the *g* Elders aroſe that gave his verdict, it being not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend hoary head had ſpent his judgment. Whence by *h Demoſthenes* they are ſtiled ὀκτωδόντες, thoſe that were wont to orate. After they had finiſhed their ſaying, others had leave to declare themſelves. Neither muſt we omit the faſhion they had to exclude all private men from their Aſſemblies ſometimes, when the Senate alone ſate, or the *Areopagitical* counſel; ſometimes to debar all ſervants, ſtrangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted, and then was it called *i* ἀπερόμενον βῆμα καὶ τὸ θέατρον, an open Theatre to all commers. The place of meeting was called Πνὺξ, *Pnyx*, ἀπὸ τῆ πυκνὰς ἄνδρας ἐν αὐτῆ; from the frequent concourſe of people there. It ſtood on a rock, and therefore by *Ariſtophanes* is called πέτρα. 345. Sch. ὀρεινὴ καθ ἑαυτὴν. There was a ſtipend for them that came to Aſſemblies, as you may ſee in *Demoſth. contra Timoc.* And πρὸς βιωτὴν ἄνευ ὀνόματος. Becauſe they might be at leiſure without dammage. *Ariſtot. Pol.* 1. *c.* 13. They aſſembled alſo in *Pyræus. Ulp. in Dem.*

f Alcidamas Ariſtoph. p. 372. Diod. Sic. l. 15.

g Demoſth. p. 29 Æſchines contra Creſ. initio.

h Philip. 1.

i Plut. p. 552. L. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de Senatu Πεντακοσίων.

WHen the mutiny between the Faction of *Megacles* and *Cyle* diſturbed the *Attick* Common-wealth, *Solon* perſwaded the people that thoſe, whom for their audacity in drawing away the ſuppliants from the Altars they named ἀναγνῶς, ſhould undergoe judgment, there were choſen *k* three hundred men ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρων according to their *worth* to ſit upon the caſe. But theſe were not a perpetual judicatory. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the uſury

k Plut. Solone pag. 60; l. 31.

uſury money, then was the Grand Councel ordained; out of every Tribe, which were then but four, an hundred choſen, who by their advice ſhould direct the people in thoſe things which were to be handled leſt any thing ſhould be inducted, or propoſed to the Aſſembly without due conſideration. Who from their office in a *Democracy*, *m Ariſtotle* ſayes, are more properly called πρόβουλοι, but where the Rout rules, Βουλή. But when *Cliſthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed ὁ καταστησάμενος τὴν πολιτείαν, had augmented the number of the Tribes from four to ten, eighty ſix years after *Solon*'s Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times, make up the ſumme. This Councel by *Ariſtotle* is deſcribed ἡ μᾶλλον κυρία πάντων. *The Miſtreſs of all the reſt*, and I am not of opinion that ἡ ἄνω Βουλὴ in a *Plutarch* is to be underſtood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were above the Senate, but as inſtituted firſt by *Solon*, and ſo related by the Author. And yet I know *b* one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quam officio, ſecundum poſt Areopagitas locum obtinuere.* To this Councel none was choſen under thirty years of age; which time is ſtiled Βουλευτικὴ ἡλικία by *c Libanius*. And doubtleſs *d Plutarch* juſtifies it, ſpeaking that *Demoſthenes* wrote his Orations againſt *Androtion*, *Timocrates*, *Ariſtocrates*, ὑπὸ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρωτεύοντας, when he had not attained to the managing of ſtate buſineſs, becauſe he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is *e Junius*, who ſays that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very Wiſe to Magiſtracy or Councell. Nay the *f* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* tells us, that green heads were not permitted to ſpeak publickly. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as ſome ſay (which is trueſt) thirty, on theſe words.

m Polit. l. 6. c. 8.

a In *Solon*. pag. 63.

b Poſſardus. *falſe: for* Pauſanius *calls it* μειρακίων. in Att. p. 27. l. 15.

c In Arg. orat. cont. Andror.

d Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

e Stobæus ſerm. 112.

f In nub. pag. 157.

Κἄγω παρὼν ὁ νῷ γε τἀν ἐμοῦ, κοὐκ ἐξὸν πω μοι τεκεῖν.

Which to be otherwiſe underſtood by ſome, is not hidden from me. They were called likewiſe Ἡλιασταί, as well as Πεντακόσιοι, and their Tribunal Ἡλιαία, from the word *g* ἁλίζεσθαι, which

g Ulp. in Demoſt. p. 445.

which signifies to throng together, because the People were frequent there. But the more probable reason is, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ ἦν ἡ τόπος καὶ ἥλιον ἐχων ἔνδον προσέβαλλον, because the place was open and exposed to the Sun. And in respect of this i *Aristophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, Εἶλη κατ' ὄψθρον, ἡλιάσεις πρὸς Ἥλιον, *In the morning thou shalt* ἡλιάζειν, in the Sun-shine. At their admission they had this Oath given them. k ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, &c. *I will give Sentence according to the Lawes and Decrees of the People of* Athens, *and Councel of five hundred, I will not consent to be a Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchy: Neither shall my approbation be to any that will dissolve the Democracy of* Athens *by Speech or Decree. I will not cut off private use, or suffer a division of the Athenian Land or Houses. I will not bring back exil'd Men, or those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any innocent against the Laws and Statutes of the Athenians and Senate of five hundred: neither by my self, or suffer any other. I will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of his former Office, whether of the nine Archons, or Agents for the holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambassadors and Assistants. Neither shall the same Man bear the same Office twice, or two in one Year. I will not take Gifts for Judgement, neither my self or other for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger then thirty. I will hear both Parties, the Accuser and Defendant alike. I will pass Judgement aright on the thing prosecuted. I swear by* Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is also another Oath which they took; some Clauses whereof, we have left in Record. *To ratifie the Laws of* Solon. Plutarch *in* Solone, *pag.* 62. *To give Counsel for the best of the People. To advise according to the Laws. I will not binde any Athenian who shall give three Sureties of the same Revennes, unless for Treason, or he conspire the subversion of State popular, or buy Custome, or be engaged, or gather publick Money and not pay it. I will sit in that order which lot shall direct me to, I will not permit any unles ba-*

h Ulp. loc. laudato, vide & Aristoph. Sc. pag. 436.

i Pag. 486.

k Dem. Orat. cont. Tim.

* *If I transgress any of these, let me and my house perish; but if I faithfully keep them according to my oath, let us be happy and prosperous.* Dem. p. 470.

nished

puniſhed,to be accuſed or impriſoned for what is paſt. This laſt was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants,when *a Thraſybulus* gave them to Oath μὴ μνησικακήσειν, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call ἀμνηςίαν. The Authority of this Councel was great,for it handled cauſes of War,Tributes,making of Laws,civil buſineſſes & events,affairs of Confederates,collections of Mony, performance of ſacred Rites, accounts of Offices diſcharged, appointing Keepers for Priſoners, and δοκιμασία of Orphans,as *Xenophon. e* Reſembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whoſe conſent all Laws are abrogated, new made,right and poſſeſſions of private men changed, forms of Religion eſtabliſhed, Subſidies, Tails,Taxes,and impoſitions appointed,Waights & Meaſures altered *&c.* As not unlike alſo the *Venetian Gran Conſiglie*,or Senate of which the *Contarene.* d *Tutta la cura del Governo della Republica appertiene al Senato, &c.* The whole manner of the Common wealths Government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority & Rule is Peace confirmed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Commonwealth at their appointment collected & gathered in, and likewiſe lay'd out again and defrayed,*&c.* In a word I may ſay of the Five hundred, as *Budæus* of the Parliament of *France : Ampliſſimam eam curiam cauſarumque omne genus diſceptatricem juſtam ac legitimam eſſe*,that that Court is moſt ample and juſtly,and equally defined all ſorts of Controverſies whatſoever. *b* To their charge was committed the making of new Ships, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the People. To this alludes *c Ariſtophanes.* Ποσαπὸν τὸ χρῦσ & ξὺν θ' ἑδθὲν αἱ τριήρεις κεγαί. ὁπὶ Μῶν Ἡλιασῶν;— *d* without their conſent could the people do naught,as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* againſt the Peoples wills. Hence in *e Demoſthenes*, ἢ βελὴ ποιήσαντ & τῷ δήμῳ κυρίαν. In teſtimony of their preheminence are they termed *f* Κύριοι ψήφων. and οἱ ἀνὴ κύριοι. The Lords of Sentence. In

a Vid. Xenoph. in Ἑλλην. Cic. init. Phil 1. Velleium Paterculum. l. 2. p. 84. Ariſt. Sch. in πλ. Æſch. cont. Cteſip.

b Athen. pag. 407. *See Sir* Tho. Smith *in the Commonwealth of England.*

d *As* Eranchirio *Anditimi hath tranſlated it.* lib. 3. fol. 34.B.

a In Pandect. Ptio. p. 298.

b Dem. p. 385.

c Avib. p. 546

d Sch. Ariſt. p. 93.

e Pag. 234.

f Demoſth. περὶ Αλλὸ.

g Idem πρὸ Μειδίαν.

time of Warr they would ſend Commiſſions to their Captains, as they thought requiſite. *h* Such as in the, battle between the *Lacedemonians* and their Country men in *Tanagra*, where fearing left *Cimon*, baniſhed by *Oſtraciſme*, ſhould betray them to the *Laconians*, they ſent to the Commanders not to entertain him in the Army. This honour was not during term of life, but every year changed. *Apoſtolius.* ἢ μηνῶν πεντακοσίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν κληρούμενοι Βουλήν. Which *Anonymus in Arg. Orat. contra Androt.* expreſſes by κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διεδέχετο. The manner of chooſing them is this, *i* The chief of every Tribe on an appointed day before the beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that was capable of this dignitie, and caſt them written into a veſſel, and into another they put an hundred white beans, and all the reſt black; Then drawing out a *Name*, and then a Bean, to whoſe chance the white Bean fell to be extracted with his Name, was deſigned Senator. This they did when they had but four Tribes, and ſo four hundred Senators. But when they had tenn Tribes, there could be but fifty white Beans, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election obſerved by the *k Venetians* upon the fourth day of *Decemb.* when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor paſſed 25 years old, are put into a pot, and carryed unto the Prince and there the ſame ſet before the Councellors, with which there is an other pot, wherein are round balls equall with the number of the names written with the firſt, every one having his marks; the fift part of theſe balls is guilded with gold, the reſt with ſilver. The Prince taketh out of the firſt pot the ball, which if it be of the golden ſort, the young man whoſe name is drawn is preſently admitted to publick authority; they to whom the ſilver chance, loſe it for that time expecting it the enſuing year, unleſs in the mean ſpace they accompliſh twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake of

h Plut. in Cimone. p. 356. l. 50.

i Verbo Emmius in Deſcript. Reip. Athen.

k Contaren. l. 1. fol. 11. b.

of the Cities liberties. So every year the fift part of the yonkers is choſen to give voice with the other Citizens. The uſe in chooſing I deem the ſame, and ſhall untill I find authentick Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Cliſthenes* according to their Tribes, ſo by his ſucceſſors. For when they added two, the number was encreaſed an hundred, by reaſon of the Tribes *Antigonis* & *Demetrias*, after named *Attalis* & *Ptolemais* in honour to the Kings of that name which were Benefactors to the State, *a* ὅθεν καὶ ἡ Βουλὴ πεντηκοσίων ἦσαν, ἑξακοσίων ἐποίησαν. *b* Out of theſe were their Judges choſen; but ſuch as were above threeſcore years old, For although Juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age. ἐσήρχοντο μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἱ ἐφήβοι καζον δ'. To theſe was any buſineſs referred, of which the Senate and people were in ſuſpence what to determine *c* Ariſtoph. Εἰτὶ δ' ἡ Βουλὴ χ' ὡ δῆμος ὅταν κεῖται μέγα πρᾶγμ', ἀπορῇ Ϛ' Ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τοῖς δικασταῖς παραδοῦναι. When the Council & People are in doubt how to judge a great matter, they decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And no marvel. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κεῖνον, prerogative in ſentence, ſaies *d Ariſtotle* that is to ſtate thoſe Queſtions which the Law hath not decided. The other of their giving ſentence before the third year of the ninety ſecond Olympiad I know not. Afterwards they ſate by turn in their own Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly tenn Tribes in *Athens*, they choſe out of each five men, & to which one of the chance happened, he ſate Judge. I cannot ſay that the manner of Election was like that of the *e Syracuſans* concerning the prieſt of *Jupiter*, who taking the names of ſo many as were nominated, and caſting them into a pot, created him whoſe name ſhould be firſt drawn, of that ſacred Function. But of our own muſt I ſpeak. *f* When then they were apointed, they met every of them bringing with him a Table and a Wand on which was written a Letter that did betoken ſome Judicatory (For there being ten Tribunals

a Stephanus περὶ πολ
b Ariſt. Schi. p. 32.

c In Veſpiſ. p. 471.

d Pol l. 3. c. 13 περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀδιαλύτων διαιρεῖται.

e Cic. in Verrem. Act. 3.
f Ariſtoph. πλ. p. 30.

every one of them was noted with a red Letter, A,B,Γ,Δ,E, *&c.* to K, over the door) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom A, was taken out, sate in the Court noted with A, and B with B, and so to K. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did least any should rashly attempt to sit, & pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority a wand or staff: because that *g* Βακτηρία ἢ σχῆμα ἢ τριβώνιον ἢ τελώβολον, was a Proverb used in dirision of the Judges. *b* This staff at the dayes end they bought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages; But the *a* Scholiast teaches us otherwayes, saying, that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon*'s words the Orator, Πλήρωσις Ηλιασταὶ, φοίτορες τριωβόλου, οὓς ἐγὼ βόσκω *Judges which I feed.* Their pay was not alwaies the same, οὐχ ἵστατο, *b* saies the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First, they had *obolum*, which *Calistratus*, surnamed *Parnytes*, was Author of. Hence the Proverb *c* Ὀβολὸν οὖσες Παρνύτης. Afterwards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word ὑπὸ τὰ Καλλικράτης, it may be for a pretty summe of mony. Nay it changed, for now I read of Ὀβολὸς Ηλιαστικὸς one, and anon τριώβολον, a *e Drachme* to two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more, sometimes less. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their cases of Law, in which I shall add.

g Suidas proverb.
h Sch. Aristoph. Πλ. 03.
a In Equites. pag. 301.
b In Nubes pag. 174.
c Appendix Varicana.
d Zenobius.
e Sch. Aristoph. pag. 487.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their custom to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whose office it was to report to the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table in which it was written, *f* Κατηγορῶ τῦδε καὶ προκαλοῦμαι τῶνδε διὰ τῦδε τοῦ δεῖνος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuse H.B. and cite him to the Court by W.N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceeding, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate before the accusation; to which *g Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros vestraque ibi nomina Faxo erunt*-- when this note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had witnesses

f Vlp. in Dem. p. 343.
g Asinaria Actu. p. 54.

witneſſes, and would proſecute the matter, who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to ſummon the Defendant to his appearance; and this he did either by himſelf or other, called therefore κλητὴρ, *b* for κλῆσις is ἡ ὀφ ταῖς δίκαις ἀναγωγή, a bringing into ſuit. καλῶν γὰρ εἰς δικαστήριον. The word ſignifies a witneſs alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they bad any that ſtood by to teſtifie that they had admoniſhed them. *i* Κλητῆρες δὲ οἱ καλοῦντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον πάντας σημαίνει ἢ ἡ λέξις ἢ τῶν μαρτύρων. You may uſe κλητὴρ for an Apparator, Sergeant, Bayliff, or the like. Sometimes they would run ſtreight to the Court, as it were headlong, in *k Demoſthenes* his phraſe, ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of *l Ariſtophanes*. Καθ' ἕλκων αὐτὸν --- But if the party could put in two ἀξιόχρεως, ſufficient to Bail, he was diſmiſſed. Hence in the *m* Comœdian. Αλλ' ἐγγυητὰς σοι κατασήσω δύο Ἀξιόχρεως. *I will procure thee a couple of able Sureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a Week or more, after the *vocationem in jus*, at which time, if the Defendant were not perſonally at the Judgement-ſeat, he came within compaſs of Ερήμης, *a Writ of Eremodicium*, refuſal to come in and anſwer, Which was avoided by ſuing for a μὴ ὄντος in tenne days after. For when the party to defend was abſent, he was condemned *indictâ cauſâ*, ſo *a Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήμης καταδικασθῆναι, by this therefore the caſe was renewed, and ſtood as at firſt, the ſentence that before paſt, being made of no force; and for this was it termed μὴ ὄντος, *b* ὅτι πρότερον δοκοῦσα εἶναι καιρῶδες, ὕστερον εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἔπεσε, *becauſe in the beginning it ſeemed to carry ſome power, but at laſt was nothing.* The buſineſs then made a new, the party that was caſt by an ἐρήμη, after that he had obtained a μὴ ὄντος, was *c* within two Moneths to ſet the Law on foot, which they term ἀπλαχῆ δίκη, or elſe the ſentence given before was ratified. Whoſoever ſhould offer to call any man to the Court, unleſs upon good grounds, was liable

b Sch. Ariſt. 190.

i Sch. Ariſt. p. 442.

k ἐπὶ χειραλῶ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἕλκειν. p. 596. n. 17.

l In Veſpis pag. 487.

m Ariſt. Com. cio. p. 755.

a Inprioris & Poſt. No. ad Pand.

b Ulp. in Dem. p. 343.

c Pollux l. 8. pag. 390.

liable to ψευδοκλητείας δίκην, a Writ of Moleſtation for a falſe cauſe. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libel, which held contents of his action, and the ſumme of the Defendants anſwer. This the Greeks call *d* Ἀντιγραφὴν, *Antigraphen.* Though I know alſo, that all caſes in Law were termed *e* πράγματα, κἀντιγραφαί. They took this courſe becauſe the Defendant might know what to anſwer. And becauſe it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuſe out of envy, which is συκοφαντία, they made a *f* Law, that whoſoever accuſed, and had not the fifth part of the voices, ſhould be fined a thouſand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was alſo puniſhed in the purſe a certain ſumme; *g* which if he paid not at the conſtituted time, was fourfold; and if his ability reached not ſo far, he ſuffered impriſonment. At the preſenting of the *Antigraphe*, teſtimonies were alſo delivered (formes of which you ſhall often meet with in *h Demoſthenes*) and a copy of an Oath which the Suiter gave, in theſe words, *i* Ταληθῆ κατηγορήσειν, that he would juſtly accuſe. Ταληθῆ ἀπολογήσεσθαι, that he would according to Truth make his Apology: and this they name *k* ἀντωμοσίαν. Theſe writings were caſt into a certain coffer, forth coming as occaſion ſhould require: All which *l Ariſtophanes* in one verſe comprehends Ἀντωμοσίας καὶ προκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας ζωικόλλων. They joyned or put together oaths, citations, & teſtimonies. I ſo interpret it againſt the Scholiaſts mind, who will have προκλήσεις to be Exhortations given to the Plantiff and Defendant to come to compoſition. But I know that *m* προκαλεῖσθαι, is κατηγορεῖν, ὡς ἕλκειν, to accuſe, ὡς δικαστήριον, *in jus vocare*, *n* and προκαλεῖσθαι, διὰ μαρτύρων ἀποδείκνυσθαι. The cheſt or coffer was called ἰχῖνος; and of this are the words of the Greek Oratours to be underſtood *o* ὡς ἰχῖνον βάλλειν. *p* Theophraſtus of a mad man that would *entangle* him ſelf in any thing ἔχων ἐχῖνον ἐν τῷ προκόλπῳ, καὶ ὁρμαθὸς γεγραμμάτων ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. Having an *Echinus* in his lappe, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* makes a different expoſition of this oath from that

d You have a form of this in Demoſt. pag. 628.
e Ariſt. Nub. p. 154. v. Sch.
f Demoſt. p 716. n.7.
g Ariſt. ſchol. ver. 170.
h Unum contra Stephan. ψευδ. α. p. 622. aliud p.624.629.
i Sch. Ariſt. Veſp 505.
k In Veſp. p 467 505.
l In Veſp. pag. 504.
m Sch. Ariſt. p. 239.
n Idem p.195
o Demoſth. 622. n. 33. 629. n. 80. 640. n. 22. 655. n. 65. 665. n. 66.
p Charact. περὶ ἀπονοι. pag. 21.

that which other Grammarians do, confounding, as is moſt probable, the πρωμοσία & ἀντωμοσία, with διωμοσία. For πρωμοσία is that firſt Oath which the Plantiff gave to proſecute the party proſecuted to anſwer, which on the Defendants ſide was called ἀντωμοσία, and generally on both διωμοσία was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did *a* πρέξαντα δίκην, follow the Delinquent in Law; the Defendant ὡς οὐκ ὑπρεξεν ἀποδόκην, to ſtand ſtifly to it that he did not treſpaſs. And yet *d Ulpian* makes both theſe one. After this were they that ſued one another, admitted to the Judicatory, it being firſt demanded of the ſuiter *c* whether he would *perſequi*, follow the ſuit, and had ſufficient witneſs for evidence; in cauſes capital it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be preſent. This Interrogation was termed *d* Ανάκρισις. If then any thing was deficient, the Judgment was prorogued by an *e* ἀντωμοσία or oath, which the Plantiff took, that for the preſent he could not perform it, but certainly would. *f* Perhaps for that time pretending ſickneſs, death of friends, or ſome urgent neceſſity, on which their fortunes might depend when then all things are ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges firſt ſwearing *g* that they would give ſentence according to the Laws, and in thoſe things concerning which there were no Lawes, according to conſcience and equity (which the Greeks call γνώμῃ δικαιοτάτῃ) *h* and of thoſe things only concerning which they did debate. This Oath ſeems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little ſtones (of theſe by and by) with which they gave ſentence. *i Plutarch* ψῆφον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ φέροντες. The Oath is called ἀμφορκία. Then went the Judges to their ſeats *k* neatly ſpread with mats, in Greek ψιάθα and ψιάθοι, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the bars in this form *l* μετὰς ἔξω they ſate down; for we muſt know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the Romanes, with lettice I ſuppoſe, by them

a Schol. Ariſtoph. Veſp. 505.
b In Demoſt. pag. 287.
c Vide Ulpian in Dem. p. 347. 341.
d Bud in Annot. Rel. ad Pan. p. 341.
e Ulpian in Dem p 226. *the* Schol. of Ariſtoph. *Make it the ſame with* ἀντωμοσία. πλ. pag. 75.
f Ulpian. in Demoſt. 341.
g Pollux. l. 8. pag. 406.
h Dem pag. 628.
i Pag. 122.
k Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 239.
l Demoſth.

called *κανκελλωταὶ Cancellatæ* by the Greekes *κιγκλίδες* though *κιγκλὶς* more properly ſignifies the door of the *δικαστηρίου* before which was *o* a rope of 50 feet in length drawn, & publick ſervants ſet, that none might enter, but who had buſineſs. The partition I think was but weak, and therefore by *Demoſthenes* called *ἀσθενὴς κιγκλίς*. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when *Demoſthenes* did long to hear *Calliſtratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pædagogue* that he would bring him where he might have the happineſs to be an Auditor. The *Pædagogue* therefore acquainted with the publique Officers that opened the doors, *τοῦ ἀνοίξαντος τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσίᾳ* procured him a place where he might hear and not be ſeen, *ὅτι ἦ καθήμενος & ἀφανὴς ἀκούσοιτο*. When the Judges had gone within the Barres, leſt any ſhould be wanting, the *Præco* cried *b* *Εἴ τις θύραζεν Ηλιαστὴς, εἰσίτω*, if any Judge be without the door of the place of Judgement, let him enter. *c* Becauſe if any came after the Caſe began to be pleaded, he could not have admiſſion. Being then ſeated, the Crier read the Inditement, *ἔγκλημα* (a copy of ſome part of which you have in *Demoſth.* ΕΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΥΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ, &c. (in which, according to the cuſtome of *e* the old *Ægyptians*; were given up to the Court in writing all the reaſons of accuſation, the wrong received and the manner of it, with an eſtimation of the dammage; The ſeveral heads of which the Judges wrote down, leſt the Impleader and Defendant ſhould ſwerve from what they had in hand. Then ſtood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunal, and ſpake an accuſatory Oration, made for the moſt part by ſome of the *Attick* Oratours: which uſe brought in by * *Antiphon* the *Rhamnuſian*, *f Clemens* of *l Alexandria* calls *δικανικοὺς λόγους εἰς ἔκδοσιν γεγραμμένους g Cicero, ſcribere aliis cauſas: quibus in judiciis uteretur*, ſuch as *Lyſias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which leſt it ſhould exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a veſſel, in

m Pollux. lib. 8. p. 407.
n Pollux loco citato. *This is* περιχείνισμα. Pollux.
p Pag. 485.
a Plutarch in Vita.
b Ariſtoph. pag. 494.
c Ariſtoph. Sch. Ibid.
d πρὸς πενταίρετον.
e Boemus De Coſthumi del le Genti lib. 1. cap. 5.
* Ariſt Rher. l. 1. c. 33.
f Strom. 1. pag. to 226.
g In Bruto.

in the botome of which was a ſmall hole for water to runn as ſand doth in our hour-glaſſes, thence called χλεψύδρα into which was poured an equall meaſure of water; and leaſt there ſhould be deceit there was an officer made for that purpoſe named *b* Εφύδωρ, ὁ παρεφυλάττων τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς κλεψύδρας filling a like for the impleader and anſwerer *i* when therefore the glaſs was runn, it was not lawful for them to ſpeak farther. *k* nay for ſcantneſs of time they were compelled to paſs by many things; and for that reaſon were they chary of their water, bidding that it ſhould be ſtopped at the reciting of Laws or the like which *Demoſthenes* intimates in Σὺ δ' ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ as ῥᾳδίαν ἐπιλαμβάνει is to ſtop the noſe in *l Ariſtophanes. m Ampuleius. At tu interim dum legit, aquam ſuſtine. Pancirollus. Ne ſi aqua interim effluxiſſet, amplius ſibi dicendi præbita foret facultas*, leaſt he might not have leave to ſpeak any more, if the water were ſpent if any would give way to another to ſpeak while this glaſs was running he might which *Dem.* teſtifies, ὅτ' ἐμοῦ ὕδατι λαλεῖτο But if he would not permit it; he bid the *Præco* caſt it forth ἔξω τὸ ὕδωρ. *Ulpian.* Τετύφλιν ἔκβαλλε, From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb *b* πρὸς τὴν κλεψύδραν. *c Cicero ad clepſydram*, to ſpeak by the hour or allotted time. His ſpeech being ended he ſate down. *d* The defendant then ſitting all that while over againſt him, until he had finiſhed, after addreſſed himſelf to his anſwer which he made from the right had of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit, and ſtation for this reaſon ſaies *e Ariſtotle*, becauſe they would make both parties equal. For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the upper part to the defendant. Or becauſe οἱ φεύγοντες or defendants, were for the moſt part in cuſtody; If therefore the guard ſtood on the right hand, the defendant ſtood there alſo; Thence then he pleaded for himſelf in which plea he was only to wipe out thoſe accuſations which his adverſary laid againſt him, *f* μόνον κατηγορηθέντων λύσιν ποιῶν, and in that had the plaintif a prerogative for he might

h Pollux l. 8. p. 404.
i Vlpian. in Dem. p. 356.
k Demoſth. περὶ Εστεφ. p. 589.
l In Pluto.
m Apologia.
a Demoſth. ὑπὲρ φορμ.
b Ariſtoph. pag. 617.
c Tuc. Qu. l. 2. in fine.
d Ulpian in Dem. 226.
e Problem. περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας.
f Ulpian in Demoſth. p. 352.

object what he would; nay and as *g Aristotle*, forecast all before he commenced his suit. And feigned to himself what he pleaded; the defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant to cleer himself, *h* either by witness, or probabilities, of all doubts whatsoever the plaintif could cast in. Sometimes the Plaintif and Defendant would desire advocates of the Judges Συνηγόρους, hence *i* ὁπὶ μισθῷ συνηγορῶν to plead for a fee. In the time of their pleading witnesses were called, who came in and gave their testimonies; and after they had uttered what they had to say; they went to the Altar (as it seems to me either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and swore. *k Cicero. Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos sanctè gravitérque vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publicè, & ut mos Græcorum est: jurandi causâ ad aras accederet, unâ voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamasse.* They report that in *Athens* when a certain man (*l Xenocrates*) who had lived Godly and gravely among them, had given witness, and as the fashion of the Greeks is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voice cryed that he should not. (They would not it seems, have belief rather be bound with religion then truth) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a friend of his desiring him μαρτυρῶν ψευδῆ to testifie a lie; which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Altar, that is as farr as conscience, religion and honesty shall permit; hence ἄχει βωμοῦ εἰλ& εἰ) *usque ad Aras*, grew I suppose to be a proverb. *Plut. Apopth. p.* 122. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reason to me unknown;, called λοβοὶ from λαμβάνειν, *Etymologicon*; (But I rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the Plaintif was wont to pluck his witness by the eare, for remembrance sake. *Horace lib.* 1. *Sat.* 9. *Licet attestari? ego vero oppono auriculam* --- To which *Virgil* looked, saying *Cynthius aurem vellet & admonuit. Elog.* 6.) and at the end thereo

g Loco laudato.

h Demosth. 219.

i Clemens Alexand. *These had certain pettifoggers under them, that administred the Lawes and forms of action.* Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedula adducti ministros se præbent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos παρασιτικοὶ vocantur.

k Corneliana Vide ad Aticum. l. 1. c. 13.

l Vide Laertium in vita ejus.

thereof wish all destruction to themselves and house if they dealt falsly. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ ψευδομαρτυριῶν, of false witness and he that suborned them κακοτεχνιῶν. Sometimes the witness was not present at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-say, which the Greek Lawyers term ἀκοὴ, as ἀκοὴ τελευτηκότων when they take it from those that are dead which went for currant and was allowable: But to bring a testimony from the mouth of one that was alive and within the Teritories of *Athens*, It would not pass. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the City, ἄτιμοι; or servants, or any man in his own cause. *a* The manner of witness was two-fold, either by personal appearance and testifying αὐτοπροσώπως and then he was called μάρτυς, in no case lyable to the Law, ἀνόδικος: or else by writing, by which he offered himself to his questions or attachments in law, against whom he witnessed, if he were not true; and this is μαρτυρία. Both parties being heard and the altercation ceased the *Præco* cryed, *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right* (so they interpret ἀδικεῖν *jus violare*) *let him cast in the black stone, or hollow, to whom he seemeth not the whole or white.* For we must know that anciently the Greeks gave their sentences with black and white pebles, called *b* χοιρίδια (which the French semblably term *Porcellanes* χοῖρος *porcus*) *Ovid*

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque Lapillis:
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpâ.

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemn the accused. Pertinent to which is the saying of *Alcibides*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to go home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to go thither whence he was never like to escape; when one asked *d* ὦ πιστεύεις τῇ πατρίδι ἢ περὶ σοῦ κρίσιν; Wilt thou not trust thy country which begat thee to be thy Judge? ὦδί τῇ μητρίδι quoth he Δίδωμι γὰρ μὴ ἀγνοήσασι ἢ σφαλῆναι τῆ ἀληθῆς, ἢ μίλαιναν ἐμβάλῃ ἀν ἡ λευκῆς ψῆφον. No not her that brought

m Demosth. p. 619. 634.

a Ulpian in Demosth. 238.

b Aristoph. 438. *c* Metamorph. 15. F. 1.

d Ælian. Var. lib. 13 c. 38. Plut. Mor. p. 140.

me forth. For I fear leaſt ſhe being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth miſtake the black for the white ſtone. The black made *triſtem ſententiam*, and was ſo named, the ſad ſentence; the white *candidam* or acquitting. They uſed likewiſe black and white beans; in reſpect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have ſpoken at a Riddle κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν not to eat beans. by, *e Nonnus* interpreted μὴ προδιδόναι τὸ δίκαιον δωροδοκεῖσθαι χρήμασιν, Not to undermine juſtice with bribes, or that men ſhould get by the perverting of equity. I ſee no reaſon, but that I may think he means men ought not to be too forward in getting places of Judgment. For *f* κυαμοστώξ in *Ariſtoph.* is by the Scholiaſt expounded δικαστὴς, and *g* κυάμους πωγων is uſed for a judge, which properly ſignifies an eater of beans. But afterwards they had little pellets of Braſs; The bloody ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, *h* πεπυτημέναι: the ſaving were whole, ἄτρυτοι. Of theſe every one took, of each one from the Altar, as I have ſaid, *i* where laying their hands upon the ψῆφος, or bals, theſe intimated by a tranſpoſition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or by reſpects, but indifferently and truly judge. When then they were readie to paſs ſentence *a* the *Præco* caried about the Κάδον or Καδίσκον, a certain pitcher (for ſo *b Xenophon* calls it, ὑδρίαν) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnel, named κημὸς but the top thereof was covered cloſe, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoyding of deceipt, I ſuppoſe, leaſt one man might caſt in more; & therefore were they to touch the ψῆφον only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. *c Ariſtoph.* Τὰς τρεῖς λαμβάνων ἅμα δακτύλων, ἀνίσχε). But we muſt know that the black and white pellets were not promiſcuouſly caſt into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of Braſs called πέτταβος whether becauſe the firſt threw into it their voices, or becauſe it may ſignifie the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being woodden

e In Naz. Stelit. 17.

f Pagina 290.

g Lyſiſtrata. p. 870.

h Pollux. l. 8. p. 417. Ulpian in Dem. 470.

i Ulpian in Dem. p. 162.

a Ariſtoph. 585.

b Pag. 263.

c Pag. 439. vid. Schol.

d Ariſtoph. Veſpis 502.

wooden ἴσον. After the Crier had gon round with both, becauſe ſome would keep their balls, and for favour not give their voice againſt a friend or great perſon, therfore he cried *e* τὶς ἀφῆρις, ἀνιέσθω who hath not caſt in his ball? Let him riſe. So he roſe and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbered them, and in matter of lands, mony, or the like, whoſe veſſel (for there were as many ſet, as the number of the litigants came to) had moſt, got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magiſtrate ſtood by with a Rod, and laid it over thoſe that were told, leſt they ſhould miſtake the one for the other, or wittingly do it. For ſo were they wont to do; thence named *f* ψηφοκλίπται. Which *g* Tucer objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulyſſes*, and therefore he calls him κλίπτην ψηφωσίου. Sch. ἴλιον κεῖται; not amiſſe ψηφοκλίπτην. *h* When the number was known, if the white or ſolid balls were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a ſhort line, as a token of abſolution, if the black or hollow were more; they drew a longer line as condemning. Hence *i* ἅπασι τιμᾶν μαχεῖν, may be uſed, for to condemn every body. The thing it ſelf they termed *k* ἀλοκίζειν as *Ariſtophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (*l* as none ever was without the ſentence of the Judges) his adverſary wrote down what dammages he ſhould pay, which they term ἐπιγεγραφὸν. *m* *Plutarch* δίκαια πατρὶ μιμεῖσθαι τῶν δικῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων. *n* For it was an uſe of old for thoſe that went to law to make agreements, I know not whether by oath, for they did ſwear by three Gods Ἰάσιον, Καθάρσιον, Ἐξακεσίδειον, and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would ſtand to ſuch and ſuch conditions, before ſentence, that he that was caſt ſhould undergo ſomewhat; and afterwards ὑπογεγραμμένον, that is, ſet down what loſs of limbs or life or means, &c. for although they did *o* ἐνεχυράζεσθαι give their eſtates as pledges to anſwer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be leſs or more then the fine There was

e Ariſtoph. Veſpis.

f Schol. Naz. in σκλ.

g Sophocles Ajacc. p. 68.

h ſchol. Ariſt. 438.

i Ariſtoph. Veſp loco cit.

k Pag 491.

l Ariſtoph p. 472.

m βίοις ῥητ. pag. 454.

n Schol. Ariſt. in ωλ. pag. 50.

o Schol. Ariſt. 740.

in

in cauſes capital an other proceeding, like to that in the City of *Venice*; where they gave two ſentences. In the firſt they determined whether they ſhould condemne or free: If in the firſt he was condemned, the manner of puniſhment was ordained in the ſecond: But if in the firſt they found no cauſe of death, they bad the accuſed to fine himſelf, which *b Xenophon* intimates by ὑποτιμᾶν, & if it were too little the Judges doubtleſs made it more, as the *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes*; if I forget not: The cuſtome is ſet down by *c Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Socrates*: *Ergo ille quoque damnatus eſt*, &c. And he too was condemned; not only by the firſt ſuffrages, but alſo by thoſe which by the appointment of the Laws they were to give the ſecond time. For in *Athens* the accuſed being found guilty, if the Offence were Capitall, they weighed and conſidered the Penalty. When the ſentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the Defendant, what he thought himſelf to have deſerved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common wealth this is not obſerved.) In Tryal, if there be more for the priſoners liberty, then againſt him, he is ſtreight acquited, but if more then halt be in the pot of *condemnation*, he ſuffers *d Socrates* at the firſt had two hundred eighty and one more againſt him, then on his ſide; and at the next eighty more were added to the former, ſo in all he had three hundred threeſcore and one condemnatory ſuffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in *e Demoſthenes* of *Cimon* like to be puniſhed with death παρὰ τρεῖς μόνας ψήφους, if there had not been wanting. And again, *f* τρεῖς γ μόναι ψῆφοι διώγμαν τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ ζημῶσαι. Nay one was ſufficient, *g Demoſthenes*. Μιᾷ μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ. But *Ulpian* on the place ὅτι μικρὰν διδόναι τιμωρίαν, ſayes that he was lightly puniſhed. *h* If the voices were equal, then was the priſoner looſed; becauſe ſometimes he might be accuſed upon ſuſpition, or of thoſe things which he did not willingly commit; or perhaps was ſued out of envy, and many other reaſons given by *i Ariſtotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave

a Contaren. de Rep. Ven. lib. 3.

b Apolog. Socr. p. 265.

c De orat 1. fol. 61. b.

d Laertius in Socrat p. 115

e Pag. 436.

f Pag. 430.

g Pag. 338.

h Ariſtoph. pag. 244.

i Probl. τμ. κθ.

leave ſome place for pitty and compaſſion. To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the *k* deſerts of their anceſtors; their own lives formerly welled. *l* Sometimes ſhewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray hairs of their parents, but *m* mothers chiefly, to intercede in ſilence: Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view: or cauſed them to a come up into the βῆμα, or pulpit, and ſupplicate with tears: which wrought ſo much upon the Judges, that *b Ariſtophanes* in a ſcoff preſents one ἀποδακρύσαντα τὴν ψῆφον, drowning his ſentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the Judges ſpeak to the Priſoner, *c* Κατάβα, Κατάβα, wiſhing him to go down from the βῆμα, a token often of Mercy; though now and then it proved otherwiſe. Nay it was a word of diſpleaſure too, as when *d Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates*. Νεότατοί γε ὄντες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦλθον πρὸς τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντες, they thundered out, Κατάβαινε, τυπτέτω κατέβη. Neither may I forget *e Amynias* the brother of *Eſchylus* the Tragœdian, who, when the people would have ſtoned his brother for ſome impiety brought on the ſtage, held up his elbow and arm without a hand loſt in the fight at *Salamis*: by which ſpectacle the Judges calling to mind the merit of *Amynias*, diſmiſſed the Poet. Neither may I omit what *f Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not ſo much for juſtice, as regarded what might conduce moſt to their own profit, and be convenient: *g* And that they condemned innocents, and ſpared offenders that could ſpeak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of caſes a whole year, ſays *h Xenophon*, and *Ariſtophanes*. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ νῳὶ τὰς ἐνιαυσιαίους Εἰσάγομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπαυρίους ἀναβαλλόμεθα. Now we do not handle ſuits of above three-ſcore years, but we are put off until the next day. Τὰς ἐντοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔχουσι δικάζομεν. For we come to trial within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the caſe hung in ſuſpenſe, the name of

k Dem. p. 492
l Ariſt. T. 3. pag 292.
m Dem. p. 493
n Ariſt. loco cit. παιδία ἀναβιβάζειν ἐθέλων.
a Ariſt. pp. 469. 499.
b Veſp. p. 499
c Sch. Ar. 500.
d Laert. Socr. p. 115.
e Ælian Var. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 19.
f Athen. Rep. ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν αὐτοῖς συμφέροντος. pag 404.
g Apol. Socr. initio.
h Athen. Rep pag 406. Ἐκκλησιαζ. 752. 753.

They are tranſlated fooliſhly into latine. ὑπαυρίους. *is what the Proctours in the civil Law uſually mean by* in proximum.

k Budæus in in Pand. No. Relig. p. 31. l Demoſt. in Mid. 347.

the accuſed was (as among the *Romans*, whence k *Rei perjurii*) expoſed to a publick Table to the view of all men, which they terme ἀκκεῖσθαι. *Demoſthenes.* ἵνα ἐκκέοιτο πρὸ τῆς Ἐπωνύμου. *Vlpian.* πρόκειται ἐν πίναξι βλέποντι. You ſee here the place too, *viz.* at the Statutes of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτία; by

m Cont. Andro. 388.

m *Demoſthenes* termed ψιλὸς λόγος, a bare report; but after proof ἔλεγχος. ὅταν ὅπ ἀν εἴπη τις, ἢ τἀληθὴς ὁμῶ δίξει. After

n Dem. p. 406

judgment paſt, n δίκημα. An inditement of ſacriledge, theft, murder, treaſon, is but αἰτία; the evidence and conviction makes it ἔλεγχος, the ſentence δίκημα.

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De areopago, & ejus appellatione. Areopagitæ.

a *When* Tullius *had divided the Roman field, he made on high hills & places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen and called them* πάγους Dion. Hal. 4. *Not as if it ſignified a village, but as it was ſituated: For* Pagus villa ruſtica *comes from* πηγὴ. *Becauſe built near a well.* Petor.

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, ſtood the *Areopagus*, in the old Tranſlation of the Acts of the Apoſtles rendered *Vicus Martinus*, by our Engliſh men, *Mars his Street*, falſly. For a πάγος bears not that ſignification, but what b *Juſtin Martyr* interprets, ὁ ὑψηλὸς τόπος, an eminent place. Ἐν γὰρ ὄχθῳ τινὶ ἱδρῦτο τὸ δικαστήριον. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by c *Æſchylus* & d *Euripides*, Ἄρειος ὄχθος, by e *Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and f *Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: ſo called, as fond Antiquity would have it, g from the judgement of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the ſonne of *Neptune*. But h *Juſtin Martyr*, becauſe he was there arraigned of adultery, μοιχείας ἐκεῖσε δίκας ἔδωκαν. But alike true. It pleaſes me well to conſider the ſuperſtition of the ancients, that conſecrated high places to their deities, and erected the ſtatues of their Gods upon hills. As i *Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*,

b In Acta p. 136. c Eumenid. p. 296 d Elect. p. 836. e Metamorp. l. 6. fab. 2. f Vide Scalig. in conject. g Demoſt. p 413. Paul. p. 26. Simeon. Met. & Pachym. in vir. Dionyſ. Areopag h Loc. citato. i Paul. Attic. p. 31.

whence

whence *Jupiter Parnethius, Hymettius, Ancheſmius.* And as in *Athens, Neptune* had a Hill Ποσειδῶνος πάγος, *Saturne* another Κρόνου πάγος, *Pan* another. Πανὸς πάγος, *Mercury* another Ἑρμοῦ πάγος, ſo *Mars* his *Areopagus.* k *Eſchylus* gives a nomination from the *Amazons*, ſacrificing to *Mars* there, when they came & fought againſt *Theſeus.* Or if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name from the caſes in it handled, of blood willfully ſhed: ſo *Heſychius*, Ἄρειος φονικὸς, That when *Juvenal* cals it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of Murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the *m Tragœdian*, *the moſt uncorrupt, ſharp, reverend Counſel*, then which nothing is more conſtant (ſaies *n Tully* comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more ſevere as by *o Pſeudo Dictis Cretenſis* it is ſtiled *Judicium ſeveriſſimum per omnem Græciam.* Then which none Judged better, more juſt, or honeſt, ſaies *p Xenopon.* *q Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and *r Cicero* received the like opinion; but that ſeems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* preſently brings, quoted in the 13th table, that they who had loſt their liberties ſhould be reſtored again, unleſs they were condemned by the *Areopagites, Epheta, Prytanes, Baſileus*, of murther, ſlaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, *ſ* Τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ Σόλωνος, &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he firſt inſtituted the *Areopagites.*) *t* Others are of opinion, that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Epheta* (Judges ſo called, becauſe when formerly the *Baſileus* made inquiſition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐφέσιμον, that is, tranſlated it to the *Epheta*, their number was but fifty one. And though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little & little they became ridiculous.) *u* *Poſſardus* ſaies, he aboliſhed their ſeverity, and ſubſtituted the *Areopagites.* But *a Urbo Emmius* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, but brought it into a better form, made it more ſtrong and firm and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it ſeems leſſened

k Eumenid. p. 296.

l Satyr. 9. v. 100.

m Æſchylus pag. 297.

n Ad Attic. l. 1. Ep. 12.

o De bello Tro. l. 6. p. 147.

p Ἀπομνημ. p. 448.

q In Solone pag. 63.

r Offic. l. 1.

ſ Loc. laudato

t Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.

u De Athen. Mag. p. 446.

a De Rep. Athen. p. 20.

leſſened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Ephetæ*; *Solon* reſtored that authority and made it greater, *b* To this company none were admitted, but wiſe, wealthy and noble men; *c* famous for good life, and innocency, τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἀνεπίληπτος, whom no man could juſtly charge of miſdemeanour. Nay, men whoſe behaviour was intollerable, *d* ὃν τοῖς ἄλλοις πεδέχ-μασιν ἀνεκτοὶ ὄντες, after they were choſen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and bluſhing at their former diſpoſitions, ὀνυττες τῇ φύσει χρῆσθαι, changed their natures, & embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain, *e Nicephorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of *f Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fiftie and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is ſomewhat, that they conſiſted of fifty and one, beſide the Nobilitie moſt wiſe and rich. πλὴν ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ βίῳ σώφροσι διαφόντων. By which words he ſeems to aym at the nine *Arcontes*, *g* who when they had governed one year, and given an account of their offices, and had adminiſtred all things juſtly, were choſen yearly into this ſociety. For which election annual, the number was doubtful. For ſome might die in that ſpace or all live, and in the next year be increaſed. *Volateran* out of an old inſcription in *Acropolis*, that they were three hundred; ΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ, &c. To the moſt famous *Ruſius Feſtus*, *Proconſul of Greece and Areopagite, the councel of Areopagus conſiſting of three hundred*; and the people of *Athens* ſet up this monument *for a teſtimonial of his good will and benevolence.* But that might only happen when this was erected. *h* They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, οἱ μήτις μεγάλως ἥμαρτε, unleſs for ſome grand offence, *i Bozius* tels us (how true I wot not) that they were all Prieſts. *Atheniuſis olim, &c.* The *Athenians*, quoth he did ſtrive to challenge to themſelves the prerogative of wiſdome, and to them is it bent what the Apoſtle ſaies, *The Greeks ſeek after wiſdome.* Nevertheleſs their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things conſiſted of Judges that were Prieſt, and the High Prieſt

b Vid. Maximum in Prolog. ad *S.* Dionyſ. opera & Niceph. lib. 2. in vita Dion.
c Pachymer.
d Iſoc. in Areopag. p. 133.
e Loco ſupra laudato.
f Atthid. l. 2.
g Anonym. in Argu. Oratio. Androtia.
h *They were of thoſe Magiſtrates that were choſen by Lot, as the* Archon. Theſmothetæ, Baſileus, Polambachus, *for which cauſe* Pericles *was not of that number becauſe he never attained to theſe offices* Plut. in Peric. p. 113.
h Anonymus loco laudat. De ſtatu Italiæ adverſus Machiavel.

Prieſt of all that asked every of their ſentences, took the ſuffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For *k* they were overſeers of all, *l* Judges of wilful murthers, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make ſome, having a deſire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chirurgion and make an inciſion in their heads, that they might ſue him whom they hated, upon an action of battery, as *m Mantitheus* againſt *Bœotus*. They ſate upon incendiaries, and impoiſoners, if the party dyed that took their doſes. *a* They ſaw that the Laws ſhould be put in execution, ſuch as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. *c* In a word all great *delinquencies* came under their cenſures. They inquired into the behaviours of men; & we read in *d Xenophon* that they ſharply reproved a young man for his looſe living. Ἀναγκαῖον μῦθον αὐτὸν περὶ Ἀρειοπαγιτῶν, &c. ſaies the *Dipnoſophiſt*. *e Valerius Maximus*. *Eſt & ejuſdem urbis f ſanctiſſimum conſilium Areopagus &c.* There is likewiſe in that City the moſt ſacred Councel *Areopagus*, where they were wont moſt diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himſelf, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they muſt give an account of their lives, might embrace honeſty. *g* The Greek author tels us that except in great caſes of neceſſity they medled not with ſtate affaires, but it ſeems otherwiſe. For if any one ſay, quoth *h Tullie*, that the *Attick* Republick can be well governed, without the council of the *Areopagites*; he may as well ſay that the World may be governed without the Providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, *i* by the advice of them was the war waged, wherein *Themiſtocles* purchaſed an everlaſting memory of a victory. *k* And when their publik Treaſury was bare, they furniſhed each man with eight *Drachmes*, and ſtored the ſhips with Mariners. Which advice, when they had wonne the day, was a cauſe ſaies *l Ariſtole*, Ζωτὸ νευτέρου πολίτευμα καὶ πολιτείαν, to give ſtrength and ſinews to the

k Plutarch. Solon. p. 63.
l Ælian. Var. l. 15. c. 15. Dem. p. 406.
m Demoſt. in Orat. περὶ Βοιωτὸν περὶ ὀνόματος.
a Dem. p. 445
b Pachymer.
c In Sympoſ. unleſs I am extreamly forgetful. It is quoted likewiſe by Athenæus. Dipn. l. 4. p. 167.
e Lib. 2. c. 6.
f Ariſtides. T. 1. p. 331. περὶ τῶν Ἀθηναϊκῶν ἐπιβόλων καὶ ἀγιβότητος.
g Anon. Arg. Orat. Andror.
h De natura Deorum 2.
i Eſt enim bellum geſtum conſilio Senatus ejus Cicero Off. 1.
k Plutach in Themiſtocl. pag. 84 l. 3.
l Pol. l. 5. c. 4.

Commonwealth. *m* Under their ſight were all the youth of *Athens.* For this reaſon eſpecially, becauſe that when they were reckoned among men, & were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them then when they were children (not obſerved by our Countrymen in ſending their ſons young to the *Inns of Court*) youth and heat of blood, unſtaidneſs in judgement, raſhneſs in adventures, and proneneſs to vice, leading or rather carrying headlong tender years to their own deſtruction. To them appertained blaſphemies againſt their Gods, violating of Religion, and divulging myſteries, as when *u Euriclidis* the *Hierophanta* in anſwer to the queſtion of *Theodorus*, Τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended againſt the myſteries? Οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες, replyed, ſuch as open them to thoſe who are not initiated. Therefore, quoth the Philoſopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalereus* befriended him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἀναχθῆναι κρίνειν, to have been brought befor the Council of *Areopagus.* By vertue of which authority S. *Paul* was here judged for teaching ſtrange Gods (as they ſuppoſed.) *a* For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*, yet their Lords made them αὐτονόμους, *ſui juris*, & permitted them to keep their ancient cuſtomes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the fellony commited, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Baſileus*, who giving the priſoner and his accuſer audience once a month, at three ſeveral times to debate the buſineſs, in the fourth month, brings in the accuſation to the *Areopagites*, *b* and putting off the Crown which he was wont to weare, ſate down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, ſaies *c Lucian* that they might not regard the ſpeaker, but what was ſpoken. It being there forbidden *d* παραμυθάζεσθαι καὶ οἰκτίζεσθαι, to move to compaſſion, and uſe Proems, as in other Courts wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demoſthenes* are termed παραμυθίαι. This *f Ariſtotle*

m Iſocrates Areop. p. 132

n Laert. lib. 2. in Ariſtippo. p. 154.

a Simeon Metaphraſt.

b Pollux. l. 8.

c Hermotim. p. 505.

d Pollux, p. 405.

e Vide Ulp. in Demoſt. pag. 396.

ſtotle calls ἔξω τῦ πράγματος λέγειν, to ſpeak beſide the matter. Before the trial both parties ſwear (which they ſtile *g* ὄμοσίαι) The appealer ſtanding upon the *teſtes* of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull (uſual to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndarus* ſwore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they ſhould revenge any wrong done to her and her predeſtinated husband. *h* ἐπὶ τῦ ἵππυ τῦ τρώϊον, and *Hercules* to the children of *Heleus* ἐπὶ τομίων κάπρου) took oath, therefore named ὄρκος, ἐπὶ τομίων; in which he maintained that he dealt juſtly and rightly, and that he was joyned in affinity to the ſlain man, *k* which if he were not, he could not proſecute, the Law forbidding. The reaſon why he ſtood ἐπὶ τομίων, I ſuppoſe is, becauſe they are the inſtruments of generation, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wiſhed an extirpation of his houſe, himſelf, and his poſterity. In which if he were perjured, he was liable to no puniſhment, as among the Romans *i Juris jurandi contempta religio ſatis Deum ultorem habet.* Forſwearing is puniſhed by a revenging God; but if any ſwore falſe by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *Julian* Law, *Læſæ Majeſtatis.* After this the Priſoner ſwore; which among us will not be allowed. Then ſetting each of them upon a two ſilver ſtones, one of which was named λίθος Ὕβρεως, the ſtone of injury; the other Ἀναιδείας, by *Adrian Junius* thought Ἀναιτίας of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the priſoner three queſtions, which *b Æſchylus* calls τρία πραγίσματα. Firſt, whether he were guilty or no, *c* εἰ κατέκτονας; to which he anſwered, ἔκτανα or οὐκ ἔκτανα, yea or nay: ſecondly, ὅπως κατέκτονας; for what reaſon he did the murther? Thirdly, Τίνος βουλόμενος; who were the Abbettors? Then aroſe there certain Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who ſhewed whether the Murther was committed *d* σὺν δίκῃ in juſtice. (*e* For in *Athens* there were ſuch Councellours, to whom in matters of difficulty they had reſort) By σὺν δίκῃ, you muſt underſtand thoſe cauſes, in which *f Draco* thought it lawful to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleanneſs with wife, mother, ſiſter, daughter, or concubin, or any whom he

g Pollux loco laudato. Dem cont. Ariſt. pag. 413.
h Pauſanias Lacon. p. 113
i Idem Meſſaniacis. p. 126.
k Demoſt. p. 608 & 418. *Theſe agreed, ſayes* Poſſard, *about the puniſhment, according to the dammage received.* De Athen. Mag. pag. 449.
l Lib. 2. C. de reb. cred.
a Paul. Attic. pag. 27.
b Eumenid. pag. 292.
c Ibidem.
d Æſchylus pag 293.
e Demoſt. vid pag. 647.
f Demoſt. pag. 312.

he accounts among his children; the party so offending might be slain in the manner by him, against whom he had trespassed. Likewise, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theef were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquisition, they passed to sentence, which was given very privily as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis*; without speaking (is the *Tabellares sententiæ* of the *Romans*, in which they wrote C. if they condemned A. if absolved N.L. if the case were not manifest) hence Ἀρειοπαγίτης σιγανόπους, for one that is close and silent; and Ἀρειοπαγίτης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, and in whose countenance is *g tristis severitas* ἐπὶ τῷ σκυθρώπων καὶ ὑπροσίμων καὶ σωτηρῶν. Whatever they concluded of, stood irrecoverable, neither *h* could there be any appeal to another tribunal. And no marvel. For so upright was their sentence, *i* that none, either Appellant or Prisoner, could ever say, that he was unjustly condemned. Nay both parties, as well those that are cast, as they that cast, are alike contented. *k* ἀπολύμενοι σὺν χαρᾷ ἀμφότεροι τῆς κακεργασίας. After doom the prisoner was to suffer death. In which Execution also the *Areopagites* had a care left the innocent should be punished with the guilty. *l* When therefore they had condemned a woman for poysoning another, they deferred the Execution, because she was great with child, and straight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which custome is by us also observed at our Assises. *m* It will not be amiss to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconsul of *Asia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & son, who had deprived her of a hopeful youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuser to appear some hundred years after, that by such a bottome of time, scarce able to be unwinded, they might shew, that they neither would condemn nor acquit the woman. *n* One thing more *Quintil.* tels us, that they *condemned* a boy for

Vid. Demost. cont. *Arist.*

Vide *Sylvium* in Orat. pro Flacco.

g Terentius.

h Ἡτύτων κρίσις οὐκ ἐδεῖτο δευτέρου κρίτου. Pachimerius.

i Demost. con. Aristocrat. p. 413.

k Aristid. Tom. 1. p 185

l Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 13

m Valer. Max. pag. 322.

n Lib. quinto.

for putting out the eyes of Quailes. Becauſe it was a ſign of a mind, likely to prove moſt pernicious. Their power was ſhaken, and ſomewhat pluckt down by *b Ephialtes*, a ſore enemy of *Oligarchical* Government, and more inclining to the people, who was ſecretly ſlain by *c Ariſtodicus* of *Tanagra*. They ſate three dayes every Month, τετάρτῃ φθίνοντος, ἕκτῃ, ἑβδόμῃ.

b Plutarch. Vit. p. 355. & Mor. 361.
c Plut. in Pericle. p. 113.

CAP. III. SECT. III.

De Judicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

AFter the Siege of *Troy*, ſome of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, *d* who kept the *Palladium*, to the coaſt of *Attica*, and ariving by night at *Phalerum*, ſuppoſing it to be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demopho* ignorant that they were Grecians came to aid and defend his own; and ſlew many of the *Argivi*: which they caſt out unburied; whoſe bodies when no beaſts had toucht (*e* οὐδὲν πεφοίτηκε ζῷον *Pollux* ſayes, the Interpreter, *nullus vivus*, I better think it no creature either Foule or Beaſt) *Acamas* ſhewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; Being warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀγνῶτας, that is, *f* neither knowing nor known) they buried them; and in that place conſecrated the *Palladium*; where they made alſo a judicatory for murthers unwillingly committed, and called it * Ἐπὶ παλλαδίῳ, *juxta Palladium*, as ſome. Here was *Demopho* firſt tried, who returned from this battaile, killed with his horſe, ſomewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; *g* For whoſe kindred ſome think he ſatisfied the Law, or generally for the *Argivi*. *h* If any had ſtricken a man or woman, and the party chanced to die, he was judged in this Court. *i* In ſuch caſes the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not puniſhed with perpetuall exile; ἀπροηγία, as in wilfull Felony; (kept by us in *England* once, called *Abjuration*

d Dictys Cretenſis de bello Trojano. l. 5. p. 140.
e Libro octavo pag. 406.
f Schol. Sop. in Oed. Tyr.
* *It is ſimply ſo called* Palladium. Ælian Var. l. 5. c. 15. οὐκ ἐν δίκαις ἐν παλλαδίῳ.
g Pauſ. Attic. pag. 27.
h Demoſth. contra Neæram. p. 727. Vide p. 647.
i Demoſth. pag. 329.

R (where

(where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never return) but he did ἐξίλεως, in a gentler term. *l* For it was a custome of old, to give a certain summe of mony (the *Attick* Law χρήματα ἔπιπμα, in wilful, all was confiscate) to the kindred of the slaine that they might not depart their country: but if they could not purchase an aboad they went some where else. *m* *Ovid. Cæde puer factâ Patroclus Opunta reliquit.* Their discontinuance was but for one year. Ἄλλως δ' ἔσυγον φονεῖς ὁ πλεῖον ὡς τὸ πολλὰ ἐνιαυτῶ. The money disbursed on such occasions was properly called ποινὴ *quasi* φοινὴ, from φόνος murther, as if it were the price of blood. And the Scholiast on *Sophocles* tells us that ποινὴ is spoken only ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων of payment of money, but abusively of any punishment. *a* If the party wounded had forgiven the offendor before his death, or the allies of the man desperately hurt, none could afterwards compel him to flee; otherwise he fled. And in the flight, he betook himselfe to some acquaintance; by whom he was clensed from the guilt with certaine ceremonies of washing, which the Romans call *Februa.* So was *Patroclus, Peleus, Medea, Alcmæon* purified: *b* *Ovid.*

Græcia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes
Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.
Actoridem Peleus, ipsam quoque Pelea Phoci
Cæde per Æmonias solvit Acastus aquas.
Vectam frænatis per inane draconibus Ægeus
Credulus immeritâ Phasida fovit ope;
Amphiardiades Naupactæo Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit, solvit & ille nefas.
Ah nimiùm faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
Flumineæ tolli posse putatis aquâ.

In this ceremony they did θύειν, sacrifice, says *c* *Demosthenes*; which custome likewise was observed by the *d* *Trazenians* in the lustration of *Orestes* from the blood of his Mother; which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated there

k Demosthenes, Midiana. *l* Eust. in Il. 1. Ἔθος παλαιὸν λῦε φονεύσαντος πρός, &c. *m* De Ponto l. 1. Eleg. 4. *n* Eustath. *but* Demost. ὡς ἂν αἰτήσειέ τις παρ' ὧν γένοι τῦ πεπονθότος: *Until he obtained remission from some of the kindred of the slaine.* *a* Demost. *b* Fastorum 2 initio.

c Κατὰ Aristocrat. p. 414. *d* Pausan. Corinth. p. 74. Καθῆκει δὲ θύσαν Ὀρέστην καθαρσίοις καὶ ἀγνοῖς, &c.

there, and yearly obſerved afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read taken out of the well *Hippocreme*, made by the foot of *Pegaſus*; the ſprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrel, as I ſuppoſe (by the words following) perſwaded to it, which tell us, that when the καδάρσια were buried, there ſprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that καθαίρειν, θύειν, καὶ καθαρθῆναι. This, as I ſaid, was in his flight. Κατιόβ' ἱζοῖν καὶ καθαίρεσθαι νομίμως πρὸ. The proceeding in this Court, was firſt, ὀμοσία, ſuch as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuſer and defendant: ſeconly, λόγοι, their ſpeeches on both ſides: thirdly, γνῶσις δικασηρίου, Jugement. If the priſoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murthered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he ſhould flee, as above ſaid, until he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Couſins of the deceaſed.

CAP. II. SECT. IV.

De Judiciis ἐν Δελφινίῳ. Πρυτανείῳ φεύγοντι.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by *c* Ægeus (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honor of *Apollo Delphinius* and *Diana Delphinia*, *a* where was the Tribunal named ὁ ἐν Δελφινίῳ or ὁ ἐπ' Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον. * In this Judicatory were heard caſes of murther, when the party confeſſed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. *c* For the Law required no puniſhment of any man that ſhould kill another taking him committing adultry with his Wife, or uncleanneſs with his Mother, Siſter, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewiſe if in preſervation of his goods or own defence he ſpilt blood, it was not capital. The firſt that was arraigned here was *Theſeus*, maintaining the right he had to ſlay the Theeves, ſaies *c* *Pollux*, (I know not wether he mean *Sciron* and *Procruſtes* &c,) and *Pallas* with his children who were Rebels. Before this trial of *Theſeus*, whoſoever

e Plutarch. pag. 4. l. 19.
a Schol Ariſt. pag. 333.
* Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15.
b Demoſth. contra Ariſt. p. 410, 411.
c Lib 8. pag. 406.
d Pauſan. Art. p. 37.

soever had slain any body was compelled to flee the Country, or staying die, were the cause never so just. Ἐν Πρυτανείῳ, Here they sate on things inanimate. As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not known, sentence was past on that thing which slew him; and the *f* φυλοβασιλῆς, that were the Masters of this Court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of *Athens*, to which *g* Æschines alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους, καὶ εἴ τι σίδηρον τὰ ἄφωνα, καὶ ἀγνώμονα ἴσως τίνα ἀμποσύνην ἀποκτόνην ὑπηρετεῖζομεν. The first thing that here was judged was an Axe, wherewith the Priest whom they call Βουτύπον, had slain an Oxe on the Altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erectheus*. Ἐν φρεατθοῖ. In that part of *Pireæum* which is next the Sea, a place which they name φρεατθύς, from *Phreutus* an *Heros*, some think; not because it stood in a pit, whence *h Pollux* names it ἐν φρεάτι, Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwilfull murther μήπω ὑπ' ἐκκλήτων αὐτὸν ἀφεισμένον, they that drove him out not aquitting him, if in the space of this exile it happened that he wittingly slew another he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled ἐν φρεατθοῖ, in a place seated on the Sea, κτύπον ἐπικαλούμενον ἐπὶ θαλάττιον, where the *guilty* drawing neare in a *boat* or *bark* was to make his apology, τῆς γῆς οὐχ ἁπτόμενος not coming to *land* or touching it, neither casting anchor *l* or moaring his bark; and if he were found guilty he underwent deserved punishment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not discharging him of the former *m* πλὴν ὅτι πρότερος φόνου φυγὴν ὑπέχει. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were cast in this tryal, he was exposed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seem to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teucer*, proving himself to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*: *a* whom they treacherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of *Salamis*

f Pollux loco citato.

g Contra Crefiph. p. 103.

h Lib. octav. 406.

i Demosth. contra Aristo. 415.

k Demosth.

l Rodolphus Gualter. *out of* Pollux *interprets it* Scalam terræ injicientem; *putting down a ladder; the Greek* ἐπιβάθραν.

m Demosth.

a Dictys Cretensis de bello Trojano. l. 6. p. 145.

Salamis, unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to *b Aristotle* Ὅσα τοῖς φύσει φίλοις, ἐὰν καθίδῃ ὑπόφευγον οἷον ἀθλιώτατα λέγων καὶ τὸ ὃν φρεατλοῖ δικαστήριον. Judicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for their bringing back again, such as in *Athens*, τὸ ὃν φρεατλοῖ, When the party prosecuting will not admit of reconciliation. *b* Politic. 4. c. 17.

CAP. III SECT. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παράβυστον. Τείγωνον. Βαπτιχιῶν. Φοινικιῶν. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ, Μητίχου δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Διωμωτὰι.

BEsides these Courts of blood and causes criminal, there were for civil matters these *Helixa*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. παράβυστον. Of this name there are two Παράβυστον μεῖζον καὶ μέσον, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters, saies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachme, to which *c Aristotle* might be thought to look, speaking of Judicatories, περὶ δὲ μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμαῖα &c. And this was the meaning of *d Pausanias*, Ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συμβύτων εἰς αὐτό. Suing here for the least occasions. The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the Court which made *Petit* to suppose that it was not to be reckoned among the δίκας δικαστήρια. It stood *e* ἐν ἀφανεῖ πόλεως, in an obscure place of the City; whence ὁ παράβυστος, in *f Demosthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded privily by a *Metaphor* taken from the situation of the Judicatory, or, παράληψιν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔνδον, καὶ κρύφα τῇ φωνουδύῃ, from goods secretly hidden. Ἐς παβύζην, ἀντὶ τῆ λάθρα. Τείγωνον, from the form of it, which seems to have been triangular. Βαπτιχιῶν and Φοινικιῶν, from the colours that were painted ἐπὶ τῷ σφυρίῳ ἢ ἰσόδῳ upon the post of the entry, answerable to which there was a staff given to the Judges, that they *c* Polit. lib. 4. c. 17. *d* Attic. 21. l. 13. *e* Pausanias. ibidem. *f* Pag. 450. *g* Aristoteles Athen. Rep. apud Arist. Sch pag. 321.

they might know in what Court to fit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staff. Τὸ ὁπὶ Λύκῳ. From the statue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there set up having the face of a wolf, where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court, hence *b* Λύκου δικάζει *Lyci decem*, for sycophants & such as corrupt judgement, because that such persons were very frequent and busie there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read, *a* πάλαι δ' σωήσαν οἱ συνδικάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (understand πρὸς ὃν or the like, at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture ἔνθα οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες ἐσυκοφάντουν καὶ Λύκῳ γεγράφωσι συνεστήρουτο. The *b* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their mony for pay, three oboli to each, a day. *c* Μετίχου δικαστήριον. This was a great Judicatory; so named from *Metichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had passed thirty years of his age, and was well and Nobly descended, and owed nothing to the publick Treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted, Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunal so called: neither did *d* *Meursius* think otherwise when he translated these words, of *e* *Pollux*, ὁν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὄμνυον ὁν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστήρια. The Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place neer the River *Iliſſus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peere, who swore the people, being in sedition and mutinie to love and amity. Where afterwards as is most probable, the Judges took oath (I cannot justly say presently after their election) to give sentence according to the Laws, and concerning things to which no Laws were enacted, in equity and justice, *f* by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirms, speaking of *Ardettus*, *g* Ἐν τῷ-

b Zenobius.

a Lib. octavo p. 406. *The place is extreamly corrupted, as you may perceive by the false Greek.*

b Vesp. p. 457

c Pollux. l 8.

d Athen. Ar. l. 2. c. 12. p. 124.

e Lib. 8. pag. 406.

f Ἀπόλλω Πατρῶον, καὶ Δήμητραν, καὶ Διὰ Βασιλέα.

g Etym. mag. p. 147.

τῳ

ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ὄμνυον οἱ δικασταὶ δικαστικὸν ὅρκον. The Judges in this place took their Oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently swear, were called *b Ardetti*, proverbally, as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. Καὶ Ἀρδήττους ἐπιόρκους. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories in number tenne. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytanum*, and *Phreattys*. For other matters *Heliæa*, *Trigonum*, *Parabystum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi forum*, *& ad Lycum*, where the Διαιτηταὶ were wont to sit, sayes *k Possardus*, of whom, because *l Emmius* numbers them among *Judicia quatuor præcipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. But of every Tribe were chosen *m* forty four men, *n* above threescore years old, who judged in several Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot he was deprived of the priviledges of an *Athenian* Citizen. *o* In former time there came no controversie into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded tenne drachmes; Although *p Ulpian* tells us that they determined of pretty businesses) but that seems to be, Περὶ ἱερῶν, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under this Jurisdiction. What ever the Διαιτηταὶ καλούμενοι judged, if the Plantiff and Defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the *q* Argument of *Demosth. Orat. contra Callippum*, *&* r *Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot as they gave them on what side soever, for the Plantiff by themselves, and for the Defendant by themselves. *s* When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties until the even, at which time, if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrote the accusation, with the fine which

b Casaub. Theoph. Char. p. 178.
i Etym. Mag. loco laudato.
k De Mag. Athen. p. 540
l Descrip. Reip. Ath. pag. 41.
m Ulpian. in Dem. p. 342.
n Pollux l. 8. pag. 407.
o Pollux ib.
p Demosth. henem loco citato.
q Pag. 678.
r Lib. 8. p. 407.
s Vide Dem. Midian, &c. Ulpian in illum. p. 344.

which was required for dammages; they received as a fee from the Plaintiff one drachme which they called t Διάστιμον, as alſo another from the Defendant, when they gave him his oath. Their office was but annual; And becauſe they would pervert juſtice, (as u *Demoſthenes* is witneſſe, * although they were not to judge before they had ſworne) give ſentence according to favour, envy, or for gain, therefore x at the years end made they an account of their function upon the laſt day of y *Thargilion*, on which it was lawful for any to ſpeak what he could object againſt them; and if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι. Thus much of the Διαιτηταὶ Καταστατοί. There were other Διαιτηταὶ likewiſe, ſuch as our civilians call *Arbitri compromiſſarii*: and we in the Engliſh *Arbitrators*: whom two parties choſe with reſolution to ſtand to their determination, whether in matter of debt, covenant or other controverſie whatſoever: ſuch by the *Attick* Law any might requeſt, but with neceſſity of abiding at their judgment. z For they could not appeal from them to any other Court. To refer matters to their arbitrement the *Greeks* term ἐπιτρέπειν Νικᾶν. And it will not be ſuperfluous here to relate the ſtory of *Bunas* and *Athenian*, whom when the *Elei* & *Calydonii* had choſen Arbitrator in a difference after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the ſentence untill at laſt he died. Whence grew to a proverbe, a Βοῦνας δικάζει, *Bunas judicat*, Bunas judgeth, of thoſe that deſer to paſſe ſentence, and hold a caſe long in ſuſpence.

t Pollux 8. c. 10. p. 408.

u Orat. in Bœotum pro dote.

* Idem pag. 682. n. 41.

x Ulpian loco laudato p. 342.

y Petit. Miſcel. l. 8. p. 211

z Vide legem apud. Dem. pag. 344.

a Zenobius.

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Judicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it followes that I ſpeak of the Termes of Law, Writs, Accuſations. Theſe were of two ſorts, private and publick. The publique were properly termed Κατηγορίαι, ſayes b *Emmius*. Of

b Deſcrip. Reip. Ath. pag. 41.

Κατη-

Κατηγορῶν there were divers sorts. Γραφὴ, φάσις, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἀφήγησις, ἀνδραποδισία, εἰσαγγελία. Γραφὴ, says (c) *Vlpian*, is τῶν παρανόμων, of any trespass against the Law, by which the Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated; and most properly, (d) quoth he, elsewhere, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a (e) Writ or Right, in Latine *Actio* or *Formula*, as in *f Sveton*, *Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to serve a man with a Writ. *g* φάσις is a kind of an Information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custome houses, for converting Tribute mony to a mans own use, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuser and accused, and the fine which the parties convinced should undergoe, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the fifth part of the suffrages, he was to lay down the sixt part of the fine; which the *b* Orators call ἐπωβελίαν, from ὀβελὸς because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accusation, the informer was to subscribe the names of the witnesses that were present. In general, all discoveries of private injuries are called φάσεις; which in Latine you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians* not so, if (*i*) *Pollux* say right, ᾧ τὸ μὲν τιμᾶσθαι ἐγίγνετο τῶν ἀδικουμένων, οἱ δ' ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαίνοιεν, the amercement fell to the person injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written down a thousand Drachmes, & the Accuser had for the fift part of the voices; he paid two hundred and one Drachme: if it exceeded, a thousand, four hundred and one. Ἔνδειξις is a Writ against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet goe about to bear office, says *k Vlpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The *l* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, takes it for the accusing of any that did amiss in publick affairs: and the *m* Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀτίμων

c In Demost. pro Corona. pag. 159.
d Orat. contra Lept. 296.
e Sir T. Smith Com. wealth of Eng. l. 2. c. 10.
f In Vitellio.
g Pollux l. 8. pag. 387.
h Demosth. cont. Caricl. p. 699. n. 6. cont. Everg. & Macsib. p. 645. n. 90. cont. Steph. Ἀδδ. A. p. 12. n. 9. contra Onetora. Εξωλ. β. p. 528. n. 19. cont. Apho. C. p. 508. m. 97.
i Onomast. l. 8. c. 6. p. 387.
k Demosth. pag. 391.
l In Equit. pag. 303.
m Pag. 469.

for men disfranchised. But *n Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taken in the manner, which the *Greeks* term ἐπαυτοφώρῳ, *o Schol. Nazian.* ἐπ' αὐτῇ πλοκῇ, *Pollux* expresses by ὁμολογουμένου ἀδικήματος, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were forced to condemne themselves; no further evidence required then from their own mouths. By which acknowledgment of their guiltiness, without greater trial, they received their doom: *p* as among us when a Prisoner arraigned, confesses his Inditement to be true, no twelve men go upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the pain of death. Whence grew our Proverb, Confess and be Hanged. *q Pollux* ὁμολογουμένου ἀδικήματος, ὃ κρίσεως; ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας δεομένου. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, that if he were false, he might be liable to the Writ, ψευδῶν ἐνδείξεως The declaration was against men who were not present.

Ἀπαγωγὴ, is a carrying of a man before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whom otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachmes were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγῇ, they brought not all offendors to the same Magistrates, but according as they were made Judges of such and such offences; *r* sometimes to the eleven, sometimes to the *ſ Thesmothetæ*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publique Treasury, or bound for those places or Countries where it was not permitted for him to go, or one who had committed Murther, if by reason of weakness he durst not venture to apprehend the person, and ἀπάγειν, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers term ἀφορμᾶσθαι. Ἀφορμή ἐστιν, is when a fellon hath committed murther, and flies for succor to any; (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the slain or others had requir'd the *Malefactor* to be delivered to them and the Protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his house, and carry away any three persons, as some translate it,

or

n Onom. l. 8. p. 388.

o In Stesit. 1.

p Sir T. Smith Common w. of Engl. l. 2. c. 26. p. 281.

q Loco laud.

r Ulp. in Dem pag. 389.

ſ Idem. p. 407

t Dem. pag. 416.

or all save three, ἄχει τεῦθν, as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, saies * *Ulpian*, is an accusation concerning great and publick matters, such as x elsewhere he speaks of, to wit the dissolution of the *Democratie*. or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publick, if any went to Warrs before they were sent, or betrayd a Garrison, army, or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachmes, and lost the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontrolable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences; therefore was there a Law enacted, that whosoever accused by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fift part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand Drachmes, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth, and as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελτικὸς. The Senate was *Judge* (*Pollux* sales that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Phalereus* 1500. where the Interpreter errs; for μὶς τετρακόσιοι is 500 to them, as ἡ τριῶν, in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more) & whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined, but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publick actions, private were these that follow, more properly called *Noxæ*.

* Idem cont. Arist. p. 41.
* In Dem. p. 58.
x Rhod. p. 453.

Δικὴ δ', is an Action against a man, who, when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the y Greeks call ἀρξαι πληγῆν ἀδίκου. x The matter was heard before the Judges & though the Law ordained not any set summe of money for dammages yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting. a The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was least any not able to defend himself with his hands, should seek to revenge himself with stones, or other hurtful weapon,

y Dem. p. 420 vide Ulp. ibi & Arg. Orat. cont. Everg. p. 637.
x Sch. Arist. Conc. p. 745.
a Dem. cont. Con. p. 690.

b Idem ibid.

Καπηλείας ſ. Somewhat neer our proviſo of giving the lye, leſt by tauntiung and reproachful words, men be provoked to blows. Βλάβης ſ. Is when an any man receives damage and hurt in eſtate by another man. *c* As to turn water into his ground, by which it is anoyed; *d* To refuſe to pay money where it is required, or to give it to another; *e* To promiſe to bear witneſs in a ſuit, and then not be preſent, by which the caſe fals, & the like. Παρακαταθήκης ſ. About pawns, I ſuppoſe, which men that needed mony were wont to leave with the uſurers, *f* as cloaths, houſhold ſtuff, &c. Or about money put to the *banck*, which the exchangers did imploy to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of *g Demoſthenes*. The word imports both. Ἀποστασίου ſ. Of divorce. *h* For they were wont to put away their wives, in former time, upon diſcontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called ἀποστασιῶν, & as *Lyſias* ἀπόστασιν on the husbands ſide, and on the wives ἀπόλειψιν; for he did as it were turn her away, ſhe was ſaid to forſake him. Κακώσεως ſ. Of ill uſage of Parents as not relieving them if they were poor. Of wives againſt husbands, of Pupils againſt Tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner ſoever. Which if it were by day, was not capital, but by night was deadly. Τόκου ſ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by *i* Law provided in *Athens* that none ſhould take too much Uſe, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the beſt of his money: which he terme κεκραμένον ἀργύριον. Of Uſury I ſhall ſpeak more in the Chapter of mony. Συμβολαίων ſ. When men had bargained & would not ſtand to it. *l Ariſtotle*. Δίκαι περὶ ἀλλήλους οὓς ἐσυμβολαίων. Συνθήκων ἐμβάσεως ſ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between Man and Man, or between City and City, concerning free trading, as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. *Arist. Pol. 3. cap. 6.* or the like. *m* Theſe Συνθῆκαι were uſually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας ſ. *n* a contention,

c Arg. Orat. Dem. contra Caricl.
d Dem. cont. Callip. p. 680 n. 20.
e Dem. cont. Tim. p. 659. n. 25.
f Sch. Ariſto. 137. E.
g Cont. Phor. p. 555. n. 7. 8.
h V. Cujacium. Obſerv. l. 6. c. 15.
i *This is reckoned among the Laws which were made for private men.*
Ulp. in Dem. p. 481.
k V. Caſaub. in Theoph. p. 191. Char. περὶ Ἀποστασίου.
l Polit. l. 2. cap. 3.
m Dem. pag. 851. n 13.
n Ulp. in Dem. p. 62. & 310.

tion about bearing office, in which they seek to have a time appointed, when a man shall enter into it. For the discharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπιδικασίαι. ℔. When parents died & left their daughters inheritrices, the kindred was wonnt to sue each other, to make it appear who was neareſt joyned in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a virgin to whom an inheritance falls is called ἐπίδικος, that is, *Controverſa*. Μισθώσεως δίκη ℔. About letting of Houses, (For *Herodotus* terms that ἐκδιδόναι, which other Greek writers μισθοῦσθαι, it is as well to set to hire, as to take to rent, ἐμισθῦν and ἀπομισθῦν to let out. Which they often did for want of Mony, which that they might obtein the quicker they wrote over their dore as we use to do, This House is to be Let. Which Custom *Menedemus* in *p Terence* expresses --- *Inscripsi illico*, ÆDES MERCEDE) This Writ was properly against Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, such as immediatly is before spoken) who having the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let, he then put it out upon some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remain void of a Tenant, to the loss of the Pupil, then was it lawful for any man to sue the Guardian in the *Archons* court, upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως δίκη. Ἐπιτροπῆς. I have observed it to have been a custom among the Ancients, when they perceived themselves to draw neer to death, to call for some one, to whose care they would commit their children, & delivering them into their hands, beseech to have a tender eye over them, & to provide for them what should be most convenient: such as *Oedipus* in *q Sophocles* entreats of *Theseus* in behalf of his daughters. -- Ὦ φίλον κέαρ Διὸς μοι χωρὶς οὖσ᾽ ἐπίσχες ἀρχαῖα τέκνοις, Ἰσμῆς τε παῖδας τῇδ᾽ ἐς ἀμπετάσσαι Μόλοι πρὸς ἑστίαν τάδ᾽ ἐκών, τελῶν δ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἂν Μέλλῃς φρονῶν δ᾽ ξυμφέρῃ τ᾽ αὐτὰς ἐμοί. Not unlike is that of the *r Comedian* under the

o Pollux. l. 3. c. 3. p. 136.

p Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.

q Oedip. Col. p. 314.

r Ter. Andr. Act. 1. Sc. 5.

the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

Accessit: vos semotæ: nos soli: incipit:
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque ætatem vides:
Nec clam te est, quam illi nunc utraque inutiles
Et ad pudicitiam, & ad tuendam rem sient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, perque hujus solitudinem
Te obtestor ne abs te hanc segreges, non deseras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;
Sive hæc te solum semper fecit maxumi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:
Bona nostra hæc tibi committo, & tuæ mando fidei.
Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, *mors continuo ipsam occupat.*

But among the *Athenians* the use was to nominate in their Testaments and last Wils, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they should defraud the Orphans of their patrimonie, or any part thereof, they were sued with a Writ ἐπιτροπῆς as *f Demosthenes* did sue his as soon as he came to age. But if the matter were not questioned within five years after the Pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the *t* Law the Guardian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, of a Master against a Servant ingrateful for his manumission, not doing his duty to his Master. Because, as *u Demosthenes* witnesses, it was the nature of servants once made free, not only to be ingrateful, but also to hate their Masters most of all men, as those who had been conscious to their servitude. It was enacted therefore that whosoever was convicted of ingratitude should again be made a bondslave. * *Valerius Maximus. Age, quid illud institutum Athenarum, quam memorabile? quod conviciis à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur.* The Romans did not only aquit them of the liberty of the City (which

f Plut. in vita ejus.

t Demosth. p. 724. 11. a2.

u Pag. 465.

* Lib. 2. c. 1. p. 670.

(which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them also slaves, which punishment they term (x) *Maximam capitis diminutionem*, Σίτου. If any man put away his Wife, he was to restore her portion again; if he refused, he was ὀφείλειν πυροφορῶν, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *obeli* which the *Attick*s term (y) ἡμιόλιον τοκικὸν, the Revenue of her dowry. The writ whereby he was sued was Σίτου δίκη, for the repayment. (z) Ἔνοικον, If any went to Law, as claymming title to an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἐνοικίου, by which he demands his Rent for the time the Defendant had the house, if it were for any parcel of land, there was a Writ ἀφορῶν given out, for the provent and fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they proceeded to an ἰδίας δίκης, in which they claimed right and title to the house or land. Although in all these trials the *defendant* were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land: but if in a third trial, which they call ἐξώλης, he were overthrown he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This ἐξώλης also a Writ against those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house, it being termed from ἐξέλαυνειν, to throw forth. It is also a Writ of Execution against any overthrown in the Court, & fined a thousand Drachmes, which at such a day he was to pay; and if he laid it not down upon the naile, there went forth a Writ ἐξώλης, to make enter upon the lands and possessions of him so cast. It is also a Right against any who will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publick to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. Εἰς διαιρέσεως ἔφεσιν. When two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he might be constrained to it by the Writ. Βεβαιώσεως, Because the Market place among the *Greeks* was the fittest to cheat & cosen in, as *b Anacharsis* was wont to say, therefore the *Athenians* enacted that none should buy in the Market-place; (to which the *Scythian* wiseman pointed likewise, saying, that they

x Justin Inst. l. 1. T. 16.

y Demosth. pag. 733.

z Dem. pag. 655. n. 58.

a Ulp. in Dem. pag. 340.

b Apud Laer. pag. 74.

they forbad to ſpeak falſe, & yet did ἐν ταῖς πρατηλείαις ψεύδεσθαι) if any man had bargained for any thing, and another ſued and doubted to the right of it, *c* he might require the ſeller to confirm the lawfulneſſe of the thing ſold, and maintaine it againſt all controverſie, otherwiſe the ſeller was liable to Βεβαιώσεως δίκη. For although in *Athens* they bought for the moſt part *Græcâ fide*, with ready mony; as *d Scaliger* & *e Caſaubon* truly interpret it, *f Turnebus*, *Repreſentatâ pecuniâ*: yet ſometime gave they Earneſt onely to make the thing ſure, which the Greeks and Latines call *g* ἀρραβὼν, from the *h Hebrew* ערבון. This ſeems to me to have been the hundreth part of the money which was to be paid for the thing bought, as *i Stobæus* out of *Theophraſtus*. Where you may read likewiſe that it was the cuſtome, when any thing was to be ſold, to bring a note thereof to the Magiſtrate ſome threeſcore days before. Εἰς ἐμφανῆ πρᾶσιν, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a ſuit in Law, by *k Pollux* his words I may conjecture, goods or mony privily taken away. Ἐξαιρέσιως δίκη. When any ſhould offer to take another mans ſervant, and make him free againſt the will of the Maſter, which the Greeks term *l* μὴ δικαίως ἐλευθεροῦσθαι ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

Ἀμφισβήτησις is a ſuit about nearneſs of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without iſſue of his own body. Παραπαβολή. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as near as blood; or upon ſome other conditions: from παραπαβάλλειν; becauſe he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were caſt in Law, he was to pay, if the cauſe were private, ſayes *m Budæus*: but if publique, the fift. *n* Διαμαρτυρία. When any ſhall proteſt that an inheritance doth hang in controverſie, and is ἀδίδικος, as a true heir being ſtill alive, of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Leochares*. Ἐπίσκηψις. When any ſhall try to falſifie the διαμαρτυρία. Ἀνταγωγή. When men went to Law about kindred, as to prove themſelves of ſuch and ſuch houſes.

c Pollux. l. 8. c. 6. p. 385.

d In Apſon. Lect. l. 2. c. 8.
e In Theoph. Char. p. 312.
f Adverſariorum l. 4. c. 13
g Don. Quod prius datur, ut reliquum reddatur. in Ter. Heaut. Act 3. Sc. 3.
h Vide Daſq; in Baſil. Scl.
i Sermone 42
k Onomaſt l. 8. c. 6. p. 484.
l Demoſt. p. 718. n. 29.
m Pand. Prio. pag. 100.
n Dem. p. 620 n. 78.

Here followeth the terms promiſcuous, private and publique, which are publique and lawful for any to proſecute. ſee Pollux pag. 386.

Ἀπογραφὴ

Ἀπεγραφὴ δ. All ſtrangers in *Athens* were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my moſt worthy Schoolmaſter, the glory of his time [o] Mr. *Mathew Bust* hath obſerved, whom for honours ſake I name) or elſe they might be queſtioned, & if they were convicted their goods were ſold and put into the City Treaſury. Ἀχαριστίας of ingratitude againſt thoſe who ſhewed not themſelves thankfull to thoſe who had well deſerved of them. Ξενίας the ſame with ἀπογράφου, when any will reckon himſelf among the number of Citizens who never had been made free, by which he purchaſed impriſonment, until ſuch times as there was a Court kept, and then he was ſold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye-witneſſe of a matter. Ἐκμαρτυρία, When another witneſſes from the report of him that ſaw it. Ψευδομαρτύριον falſe witneſſe, which to proſecute in Law they term ὀφλεῖν ψευδομαρτύριον. Ἀντιμαρτύριον, when one was eye witneſs, and promiſed to teſtifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do, which they call κλητύειν, after which citation the party was to be at Court, or forſwear that he ſaw not the matter, or was not preſent, otherwiſe he was to pay a thouſand drachmes, in which ſumme to be fined the *Attick* Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλησίασθαι. Δώρων γραφή, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes. Δικαιομὸ againſt thoſe that did corrupt them. Ἀργίας of a man convinced of idleneſs, which once taken, *Draco* puniſhed the delinquent with loſs of the City priviledges. *Solon*, not unleſs he were thrice delinquent. Ἀποναυτίου, When any of the Marriners ran away from their ſhips. Ἀναυμαχίου, When the Marriners that ſtayed in the Ships would not fight, if occaſion required. Ψευδηγεσίας when any would falſly accuſe, there was likewiſe againſt them a Writ ἐπιβουλεύσεως. Ψευδοκλητείας, Againſt thoſe that unjuſtly cite to the Court. Δωροξενίας when any is accuſed of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to eſcape free. παραγράμμου, when any

[o] In Epiſt. Dedic. ſuo Euchaitenſi præfixa ad Richar. Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum.

any was accuſed of making a Decree or Law contrary to former ſtatutes. This accuſation was called γραφὴ παρανόμων, becauſe the accuſer ſwore that it was againſt the Lawes, or unjuſt, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. Δοκιμασία, was an examination of the Magiſtrates whether they were fit to govern, or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Luſt, and Incontinency, whether they had not ſpent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their Parents, or led a life any otherways blameable, whereupon they were diſcarded the priviledges of the City, and not ſuffered to plead, or ſpeak publickly. Εὐθύνη, An account of the publique offices borne, laying out of money, and diſpatching Ambaſſages, made to the Tenne *Legiſtæ* (for the breach of which went out a Writ Αλογίου λόγον δίκαι, *Rationem reddere*) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. Προβολὴ an accuſation againſt thoſe who are ill-affected toward the Common-wealth, made by the decrees of the people, and ſuch as are well willers to the ſtate. Προβολαὶ likewiſe are accuſations againſt men injurious, ἐξυβρισταὶ, *a* and ſuch as are delinquent againſt their feſtivals, as the oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Midias*. Προμοσία, An oath which the Accuſer took that he would juſtly accuſe. (*q*) Ἀντωμοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Ἐξωμοσία, an oath of Ambaſſadors or men choſen for ſtate ſervice, that by reaſon of ſickneſs they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they pleaſe. It is likewiſe the Oath of one called to witneſs, wherein he ſwears that he knowes nothing of the buſineſs. Ἀπωμοσία, when others ſhall ſwear that pretended weakneſs, was only a ſhift to put of the burthen of publique office which the State laid on them. Ὑπωμοσία, an accuſation of a Law or decree unprofitable, againſt the motioner, as above ſaid. παρεγγραφὴ, & παρεμπτωσία, when a man ſhall object a caſe not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be ſuch and ſuch, & not as it is *ex: gr.* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is λιποταξίου, and I accuſe him of

a Lib. Arg. Midianam.
q Ulpian in Dem. 226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit ὑποταξίε, or objection of the time past, within which space the suit was to be commenced, or that it should be handled in such a Court, and not in such; as wilfull Murther in *Areopagus*, or *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell it was termed ἀγεγραπθ. Ἀντιγεγραπθ, when he that is sued puts a Bill against the plantif in like manner. But if the defendant (I call ἀντιγεγραμμένον foe) were cast, he paid ἐπωβελίαν. r Μὴ ἔται, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri of a controversie, if he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in ἐρήμη, *Eremodicio*, and if he scorned to come, or were obstinate, he ought within ten daies to sue out μὴ ἔναι, wherein he reproved the sentence and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state again. But if he could not obtain a μὴ ἔναι, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, & he was constrained to pay 1000 drachmes (as *l Vlpian*) which was the mulct appointed by the law: for the discharge whereof he put in good security, Ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκλω; When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined, as conscious of *Eremodicium*, and if within the space of two Months he did not renew the suit (which is ἀναλαγχάνειν δίκλω) he was sure to pay the fine. Ἐνεγκαλεῖσθαι, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, and publickly sold, somewhat as debt to him, or say that part belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it, which thing they term ἐνεγκλημα. παράκλησις, is a citing one before the *Archon* in controversy about the inheritance, or a Virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintif did not warn the defendant & ὁμολογήσαντος, the suit dyed, and such actions are called ἀναβεβλημένοι δίκαι. t παράκλησις, is as letting a case fall, or dissolving it upon some witness, oath or confession extorted by torments, and the like. Ἔφεσις, is appeal from one Court to

r Ulpian in Dem. 334.

s In Dem. p. 340.

t Dem. p. 623

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate again, or from their Judicatories at home to some forrainers in another country. Ἀτιμία & δίκη when there is no more fine laid upon a man that what his adversary did ὀφλήσειν, write down at the lower end of his Inditement; of which custom somewhat hath before been spoken. Βουλῆς δίκη, Against such as stole Oxe-dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of those that are put in the Court for trivial matters the Proverb u Βουλῆς δίκην, Ἀσεβείας of impietie against their Gods, as *Aristotle* for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharnenses*, which he engraved on a statute at *Delphos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death, as on the contrary the accuser, if he got not the better. προδοσίας, of being false to the state, the punishment was death, and after that, that they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. * Ἀγωγὴν, If any owed to the City Treasury, and his name were registred, & before the discharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta* ἀγωγὴν, but if his name was never entered, he was prosecuted by an ἔνδειξις. Μεταλλικαὶ proper only to such as dealt in the Mines, like to Stamaries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devonshire* her sister. x Lyable to this Court were they who should thrust any man from his work, who should digge within another mans liberties, who should bring weapons thither, I suppose to take away Minerals by violence, who should kindle any fire in the Mines, &c. Who should offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to do was death, as y *Plutarch* tels us. There was likewise ἀγωγὴ μεταλλικὴ against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intend to begin a new work were to acquaint the overseers appointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coine might come to the publick Treasury. Now if any presumed

u Arist. Sch. p. 3. 28. Laertius in vit.

* Dem. cont. Theocr. p. 7. 13. n. 76. 77.

x Dem. cont. Pantæn. p. 567 n. 51, 52.

y In vitis Decem Rhet. p. 453.

med to work who had not made it known to the officers, it was lawful for any to accuse him ἀγεφύρου ματαλλου. Αφορμῆς δ'. About mony put out to the mony changers. z For ἀφορμὴ among the *Atticks* is the same that ὑπόθεσις in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Jure Græco-Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used ἀφορμὴ for means and sustenance, *a* ἀπεβολὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδικάσας & καταδικασάμενος have this difference, that *b* καταδικάσας is the Judg that gives sentence, καταδικασάμενος is he that put in the controversie, to be the means that the sentence past against the defendant. *c* Αφεσις is when a man is deeply indepted pretends that he is not able to discharge all; and therefore desires the People that a part thereof might be remitted.

z Argum Phorm. Orat. p. 554.

a Sch. Eurip.
b Med. p. 368
b Ulpian in Med. p. 368.

c Idem in Dem. p. 450.

LIB.

LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.

CAP. I.

De Venere & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens* had their habitation too neat the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that roſe of the *Foam*. For that they were devoted to the ſervice of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein ſhe was courted, and the over favourable name of ἑταίρα will ſufficiently teſtifie. One of thoſe Temples was for *Venus* Οὐρανία (* *ſi diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muſes, *b* or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus* Πάνδημος. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent ſaying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Καλὸς ἐράσμιον, and Καλὸς πάνδημον. Δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω εἶναι ἀνθρώπους καλὰ πλεῖν, Τὸ μὲν ἐράσμιον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὥσπερ καὶ καλὰς αἱ γυναῖκαι θεαί. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐράσμιον ἔχθεται τῷ ἁπλῷ κάλλει διαμένον, καὶ ζητεῖ πρὸς ἔρωτα τυχὸν φεύγον. Τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἔρριπται κάτω, καὶ ἐγχρονίζει περὶ τοῖς σώμασι. A ſaying good enough for a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop ſuch as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But *à diverticulo*. The ſacrifices of the firſt Temple, were Ἁγνότεραι, with a little more ſtate and chaſtity then became her; but thoſe of the laſt, ῥᾳδιουργότεραι, as *eaſie*, and as wicked as her ſelf,

a *Pauſanias*.
b ἐρανία, a Play ſo called.

ſelf: For every farthing Strumpet, might by *Solon's* owne appointment proſtitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Κεραμικὸς, *c* or the Σελερ (thoſe Καπυλεῖα Ἀφροδίτα) or any other of the places abuſed to luſt. Nay thoſe *ſinks*, *d* beſides *places* for the purpoſe, they had *garments* alſo for the purpoſe, and flowers on the garments too, Τὰ Ἀνθινὰ, *floridas veſtes*, apparel fit for ſuch *Flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her ſervice the *Athenians* are ſaid to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Aſſyrians*. *Fides penes Authorem ſit.* The faſhion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as farre down as the girdle, and all the reſt like a woman (to ſhew ſhe had a place in the *Ditches* too *f* as well as in the *Sinks*, and patroniz'd luſt to either of the Sexes) inſomuch that many have been ſcrupulous whether they ſhould call her *Deum* or *Deam*; for there is one that ſays

c Pauſanias.

d Cloacæ.

e Cœl. Rhod.

f Inter Socraticos notiſſima foſſa cinœdos. Juven. Sat. 2.

——*Pollentemque Deum Venerem.* Which *Macrobius* himſelf commends for the beſt, and therefore in *Virgil*, *Æn.* 2. *v.* 632. reads

Diſcedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hoſtes
Expedior---and not *Deâ*, and ſo *Ariſtophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, in the *maſculine gender*. But, now this makes more work, and therefore (to plaiſter two walls with one potfull of plaiſtring) they made it a cuſtom, *ei ſacrificium* * *facere viros cum veſte muliebri, Mulieres cum virili. Quod eandem & Mas, & fœmina æſtimaretur, for the men to ſacrifice to her in womens apparel, and women in mens.* If it be ſo, you may ſay *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you pleaſe. I read of no ſuch thing concerning *Minerva*: onely the *g* Poet (becauſe ſhe was ſuch a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddeſs with a τὸ θῆυ; as *Theocritus h* does *Hecate*, with ὁ θεὸς ὁ τελεσθὶς an *appellative* of the *maſculine gender*: Nor is it enough that the Mother is thus religiouſly wooed and adored, but the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple too. And if

* Philochorus, cited by Macrobius.

g Ariſtoph. Act. 5. ſc. 2.

h In φαρμακεύτ. 5.

Her

Her due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be leſs than a *Calf*, neither was it.

Ῥέζω πέρην ἔρωτι χἠμὶν τῇ Βοῦν Ἀφροδίτῃ.

ſayes *Theocritus*: and *Amori Litari* to ſacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apuleius*. Methinks he might have been content to ſit ſtill in his Mothers Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxes*, and crowned with flowers) and have ſoard * with his wings no higher. But the Temple of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Διὸς Θ, do more then whiſper what cauſe he had to be ſo proud, and how amorous this People has been.

* *Alatus.*

CAP. II.

De Paderaſtia.

TO omit the Τειβάδας and the Abominations of the Women one with another, changing τὴν φυσικὴν ἐ χρῆσιν, εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν, *the natural uſe into that which is againſt nature*, give me leave to ſpeak a little of their παιδερασταὶ, or παιδόπται, and the Ἀχημοσύνη, *k* practiſed by Men upon their own Sex. The firſt that ever taught

Amorem
In teneros transferre mares

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the *Roman* was, *Lippis & Tonſoribus notum*. And for the *Greeks*, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Perſians* deriv'd the infection from them; which I am apt enough to believe when I read thoſe words of *Cornelius* l *Nepos*, *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adoleſcentulis, quam plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and thoſe concerning *Alcibiades* in another. *Ineunte adoleſcentiâ amatus eſt à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himſelfe afterwards was more than *Pathicus* in that *double Cappa-rougery* as well as *m Pauſanias*, or *n Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* * *Sectaries*. The *Cretians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Ariſtot.* ſay true, made a Law for toleration of it. The *o Magarenſes* had

i *Ep. ad Rom. c.* 1. *v.* 26.
k *Ibid. v.* 27.
l *Initio lib. de Excell. Imp.*
m *Æmil. Prob.*
* Plato in Symp.
n *Socratici paſſim.*
o *Athenæus.*

had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kiss sweetest was led away in pomp *Corollis onustus*; only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedemonians* & the *Athenians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay *p* Ælian (who makes bold to vary from other authors in several relations) goes farther, and saies Σπαρτιάτης γὰρ ἔρως Αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴδωλον, but how true that is, I know not, I am sure their τὰ παιδικὰ and οἱ Παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι tell in *plain song* what they loved: though I confess I have found no such feats among them, as that of *q Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refusing to submit to his lust. One word more and I have done. He that was inspired with such a love as this, (as if they had used the trick of *r Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had the name of ἐσπνιλὼν or ἐσπυλὼν or rather ἐσπυήλας, as *Callimachus* hath it.

p L. 3. *Var. Hist.* c. 12.

q *Lycoph.*

r *Inque vices fuerat captatas anhelitus oris.*

Μάμβλετο δ' ἐσπυήλης ἱππότα Κῦρος ἴοτ.

By which word (saith the *Etymological Dictionary*) is denoted ὁ ὑπὸ τῦ ἔρωτος (or rather ἐρῶντος) ἐσπνεύμενος, one *inspired*, shall I say, or *beloved*; for so signifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy so *perdite* as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we say) to *spit in his mouth*, or give him *Mansum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. Αὐτοὶ γὰρ δέον ἦν ἱερεσῶν ἐσπνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Λακεδαιμόνιον γ' ὅτιν ἢ φανὴ ἐεῖν δόμον λέγουσι, and so *Hesychius* saies of ἐμπνεῖν too, ἐμπνεῖ μοι, ἐεῖ μι, ποθεῖ με. This was all (as he saies) or (as I say) it ought to have been all; for a man *may love his house well enough though he do not ride upon the ridge*. However, I must confess they had so much care still of the *Commonwealth*, notwithstanding their *private pleasures*, as not to give a voice to one whom they knew to be guilty of so much *Mollities*, as to *scratch his head with one finger*. Insomuch that if a man had sued for an Office to give a testimony of his *virtue* and manlike disposition he was fain to lift up his arms, and shew his hair in his Arm-pits.

——— Χειροτονητέον.

ᵗ Ἐξωμισάσαις ἀτιμίαν βοηχίοιν. ſaies *Ariſtophanes*. And good reaſon for this practice, for,

Dura per brachia ſetæ
Promittunt animum --- ſaies *Perſius*. And

ſ Apud Ariſtoph. therefore the Woman *ſ* that deſired to be taken for a Man, thought this the beſt Argument ſhe could uſe

——— πρῶτον μὲν γ' ἔχω τὰς μασχάλας
Λοχμὰς ἀντὶ σευτίδας

Whereas on the contrary, thoſe that had the fore-head to *ſeem*, as they *were*, effeminate, uſed the ſame tricks which the *Romans* are ſaid to have uſed (for which ſervice they had their ἀλωπεκιστὰς, or *allipillarios*) to pull away their hair, and be as ſmooth as they could.

But I have ſaid too much of ſo odious a Love, *as ſhould not indeed be named among us*. I will now proceed to ſpeak of a chaſter *Venus* (notwithſtanding that *Menelaus* in *t Achiles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis ſexuum diverſitatem generato amore ſociavit*, as *u Apuleius* ſaid in his Prayer.

t Achill. Tat. Lib. 2.
u Metam. l. 11.

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen firſt they liſted themſelves into the ſervice (for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) ſome of them made it ſuch a ſolemn buſineſs, as to be formally initiated like ſo many Prieſts.

Ἂν δὲ ἡμᾶς Ἀφροδίτης μυσταγωγήσῃ: Sais *Clitophon* to *Leucippe* Ἐπὶ σῇ ϐάϐλῳ κατομύσθην ἀρρητα, ſaies *Iſmenias* *x* to his Miſtreſs, alluding (it may be) to ſuch Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, *y Literis ignorabilibus prænotatos*.

* Achil. lib. 2.
x Euſtath. lib. 5.
y Loco ante laudato.

Well it ſeems *Venus* had her ᶻ μυήσεις too, as well as *Ceres*; for her Prieſts, though they were not under an enjoyned ſilence, as the others were, yet the greateſt part of their tatling was under the Roſe.

ᶻ Hieroglyphicis.

Conſcius

Conſcius omnis abeſt Nutu ſigniſque loquuntur. And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whiſperer* ψιθυρ⊙ for nothing, ſeeing ſpeaking through the teeth, and *whiſpeing* thorow the walls, like *Pyramus* *b* and *Thisbe*, was ſo commonly uſed by his followers. Such as that ὑπόσμυρος βοὴ in *Euripides*, *ſuccrotilla vocula. Fœminina fabulare* c *ſuccrotilla vocula*, ſaies one. Θρατθιμύη τὸ ποτήιον χαίρις ὑ ἀψιθύειτα, *d* ſaies another, of *Iſmene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did was by ſtealth; but what were all their pleaſures but *furta*? What is *Cupid* but a *Thief*. No wonder then if Lovers uſed to worſhip the Moon; and the Night be the blind boyes Holy-day. *f* Κλεπτῶν γὰ ἡ Νὺξ, ſaies one (like that of the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus* δῶ γὰ κλεπτομένοις ἱερὸς ζυγὸς, ἡ νυκτὸς) for the greateſt part of their employments were not able to look upon the Sun. Yet *Pindar* as I take it, ſaies the cuſtom was, for the Man to worſhip the Sun, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the mans aime *g* was to have the Suns help in bringing Adultries, and the Womans the Moons, in bringing her *h Children* to light.

Beſides theſe, Θεὸς ὁ Πὰν ἐρωτικὸς *i Pan* had his worſhip too. But for any thing I can perceive (though ſome of them it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind,

—— Ὁ γὰ Θεὸς ὅτι δὴ δικάζειν) whatſoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looſneſs in ſich buſineſſes to *ſwear* and *forſwear*, as faſt as they liſted, whiles *Jupiter* ſtood by and laught --- *Perjura ridet amantum.* inſomuch that Ἀφροδίσι⊙ ὅρκ⊙, a *Love Oath*, became but a proverb at laſt, as being accounted ὐκ ἐμπολίμ⊙, not deſerving puniſhment, if it were taken: nay if *Plato* in *Ephebo*, ſay truth, ὃν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς αὑτῶν τὰ Ἀφροδίσια, καὶ τὸ ἐπορκεῖν συγγνώμων ἅπασι παρὰ θεῶν, the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hæc eadem Juvenes, the ſame themſelves once: and none can play the* k *knave better then an Abbot that hath been a Monk.*

a *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.*

b *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.*

c *Titinius.*

d *Euſtath.*

e *Theocritus* ſaies he ſtole honycombs. *Id.* 20.

f *Eurip.*

g *Venerem cum Marte deprehendit. Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 6.*

h *Luna parturientibus adeſt.*

i *Longius in Paſtoral. l. 2.*

k French Proverb.

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Indiciis.

NOw to know whether ſuch an one were in Love or not (though they ſay, *Love and the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a Feaſt, they took ſpecial notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we uſe to do of the Garter) making it a fore runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine ſo ſoon of the reaſon; for I *Athenæus* ſaies it hath been a riddle a thouſand years before his time, & propounded at their merry meeting, διὰ τὶ ὃν στεφανωμένων ἐὰν λύῃ σίφων, ἐρᾷν λέγουσι, and he himſelf hath ſerved up no leſs then eight other reaſons: but I know never a one better than another to give you a taſt. Another ſigne that they were in love was the *tinkling of the Ear*, whence that of *Sappho* βομβεῖς δ' ἀκοαί μου, and *Catullus*,

l Lib. 15. Deipnoſ.

---- *Sonitu ſuopte*
Tintinant aures. ---- To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they took a leaf (whether of *Poppey*, or what it was I know not) they called it πλάφιλον *quaſi* δηλάφιλον ἀπὸ τῦ δηλῶσαι τὴ φιλίαν) and putting it on the foreſinger and the thumb of the left hand (as our children uſe to do with us) ſtruck it with the right. If it gave a crack they rejoyced if not a ſigh; out alaſs!

m Ariſtoph. Sch. in Pace.

* Οὐδὲ τὸ Τηλέφιλον πότε μασχόμενον πλατάσσειν; ſaies *Theocritus Idyll.* 3. So at their Feaſts they had a trick, to faſten a long ſtick in the ground with another upon it (in the faſhion of the croſs Beam of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it. Under the Scales ſtood a couple of Bowls filled with water and under the water a ſtatue of Braſs, guilded and called by the name of Μάνης (*n* once the name of a Servant now the manner was for ſuch as were in Love (with the ſame woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who ſhould carry it, to take each

n Id. in Aviſus.

his

his phiale of Braſs (τὸν κότταβον) to ſtand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he liſted, with a ſudden turne of the hand (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναστρέφειν they call it, and thence κότταβοι ἀναστρεπτοι) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remaider thus thrown they called κατάγειν from κάταξ, the *klat* or the ſound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could do this ſo well, as to make his ſcale ſink, and ſtrike the image hardeſt on the head (ὥστε τὸν ἄνδρα κυθῆναι τῷ οἴνῳ, ſo that ſome of the Wine leapt out upon him, ſaith the Scholiaſt) preſumed preſently upon the love of his Miſtriſs, and had his κοττάβιον or his Cake (the uſual reward of victory in moſt of their Playes) for his labour, ſometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flaſh, it was counted as lucky for a Lover, as the *crack of the leaf*. Thus to drink and play, they called κοτταβίζειν (as κότταβος was the name of the cup and the play too) and ſeldom a drinking match without it.

Ἐστιᾶσθαι κοτταβίζειν
Συβαρίζειν
Ἰὼ ἰὼ κακεργάται.

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gambol they are a ſhamed to own themſelves, and therefore turn it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might ſpeak more of κότταβος, were it either fitter for the preſent diſcourſe, or not ſpoken of ſo largely and by ſo many, as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus*, and others already. Let it ſuffice only to have minded you of the folly ſo uſual among Lovers in thoſe times according to that of *Callimachus*.

Πολλοὶ μὲν φιλέοντες, ἀκόντιον ἤματι θῆκε
Οἰνοπίδαι Σικελὰς ὀκ κυλίκων λάταγας.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De Philtris & incantamentis.

BUT what if she could not be wooen over by fair means? was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling to bewitch her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of hers into their possession, and work upon that, according to the Nurses advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippollitus*.

Euripides Hipp. v 512.

Δεῖ δ' ἐξ ὁμοίου δή τι τῷ πεθυμοῦντι
Σημεῖον, ἢ λόγου τιν' ἢ πέπλων ἀπὸ
Λαβόντ' ἐκμάξαι τ' ἄυειν μιᾶν χάριν.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illices oculi* in (*Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a facination. ὀφθαλμὸν τινὰ βάσκανον ἐνεπάτησε, he threw a *sheeps eye at her* (saith * *Heliodorus*) The proverb, that *Love comes in at the window, and goes out at the Door*, may not absurdly be understoood of the *Eyes*, which *Maximus Tyrius* cals θύρας τῆς ψυχῆς; the Doors of the Soul, which seem to be the way and the passage by which the two loves go in and out. ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδός ἐστιν, saith *Musæus*: or if you will the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the *heart*. Ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνάπτει τὸν ἔρωτα, saith * *Eustathius*, and so * *Lucian* makes the *sight* the first step * in *Cupids* ladder of Love. To try therefore what this card could do, they would go to the house where she lived, and the fashion being for the Daughter οἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the Stranger: (as *Sosthenes* commanded his Daughter to do to *Ismenias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Mistresses to drink to them, they observed at what part of the cup she drank, to be sure to drink at the same, according to that of the a Poet

* *Lib.* 4.

* *Lib.* 3. * *in Ἐρωσι.*

* *Oculi sunt in amore duces.*

* *Ovid. de Arte Am. l.* 1.

Hæc primus rapias illius tacta labellis
Pocula; quaque bibit parte Puella, bibe.

Forsooth

Forſooth they thought thus to have a kiſs *mediatè* at the ſecond hand waſted over in the cup καταπίνειν τὸ φίλημα, *Ariſtænetus* calls it, not to *kiſs the cup*, but *to cup the kiſs*.

Nam tranſmiſſa ſuis ad me fert ſuavia labris
Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* tranſlating that verſe,

Πορθμεύει γάρ ἐμοὶ γαῦλιξ παρὰ σοῦ τὸ φίλημα. Such a kiſs they uſed to call ἀποστολιμαῖον φίλημα (*miſſivum oſculum*, or a kiſs conveighed in a cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Euſtathius* do. And by this time they have ſeen whether they can do any thing or nothing by the *eye*. Next they will try what they can do with the Tongue, by *inchanting ſongs and tales*: or by the Hand, with *Gifts* and *Philtres*: ἢ ἄνδ πολλῶν φίλτρων τε καὶ ἐπῳδῶν, καὶ ἴυγγων, ſayes *Xenophon*. Ἰύγξ more eſpecially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *torquilla*, or *regulus*, or *paſſerculus*; the laſt is moſt likely becauſe of its ſalacity) whoſe tongue they made uſe of to ſuch purpoſes, putting it under the knap of her Ring with the paring of her nails.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for ſuch a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Ecchо* ſays *Callimachus*) becauſe ſhee bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the ſame name, and of a making very ſutable to her former condition, and the uſes for which ſhe ſerves, For (according to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head and the tail; and puniſhed ſhe is enough for her Roguery; for (beſides that way I told you of before) ſometimes they ty'd her ἀκρίδος τροχῷ to a wheele (as I think) and chanted a charm as they whirled it round, ſometimes (at leaſt the entrails) to a τροχὸς of wax, cauſing both together to conſume in the fire, But what will you ſay, if all this while it be nothing but an inſtrument pleaſantly tun'd and playd? as ſome ſay it is, and that it is therefore commonly uſed

used for any pleasant thing or inticement. Ἴυγγι ἕλκομαι ὑπὸ
* *Nem. Od.* 4. vid. *Theoc. Pharmacen. Lusistrate prope finem.* saies * *Pindar*, or any other Magical Love toy, such as *Ungues*, muscels, wreathed fillets, hair, and bands of twisted wool, and divers other gambols of the same bran according to that which I have seen of *Lælius* an ancient Poet.

Trochiscili, Ungues, taniæ
Aureæ, Illibes bitortilæ.

* not στερ-τὸν. * Περὶ πο-ταμ. With no stronger chains then those of *twisted Wool* (* πλεκ-τὸν ἔριον * *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes*, *woollen feet*, as the proverb saies they had, than that any of them should have *Laneas pedicas woollen fetters* And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, could be content to lie fast in those bands all the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his liberty, because of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therefore cals *Saturni compedem exolutum*: I refer you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn. l.* 1. *c.* 8. Though I believe they intended no other than a Magicall tie upon the affection of the party. Yet they seem to have made use of *Wool*, rather then any other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind of matters, for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was made of *wool*, twisted aud tyed with an *Hercules*, or a *True-Lovers* knot, not to be untyed but in the *Genial-bed*. Then the doors of the Bride-house, and the posts of the doors, were bound about with woollen fillettings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this πλοκτὸν ἔριον I cannot tell, whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that,

* *Theocrit. Pharmacen.* * Στέψαν τὰν κυλίβαν φοινικίῳ ὀΐδι ἀώτῳ.

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in some other way, But thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises in such Rogueries (too common with the women in these times) that what ever was done to the thing which they used

uſed they imprecated the ſame, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to repreſent. Thus a *Althæa* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tied up b *Alcmena's* womb, *Digitis inter ſe pectine junctis.* I know not how. Thus c *Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his love, would have ſcattered his bones in the Meal, burnt his fleſh in the Bay, melted him away in the Wax, or have had him tumble to her door in the Brazen Bowle, and have killed him with kindneſs. Every one of which practiſes was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moon* for ſucceſſe, as things that were fit to be done neither by *day*, nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they uſed to make a man to love them, ſuch as d *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of in his *Epiſtles*, τὸ ᾠὸν καὶ ὁ κυὼς, καὶ τὸ ταριχηρὸν, καὶ εἰ ὀπισθότονοι ὄφεις, αἱ χρυσαῖ πίδαι, καὶ Θαΐδος, καὶ Ἀεισαγόρας, καὶ Λαΐδος φάρμακα. The κυὼς may be thought to be the *Ceruſſa*, Τὸ παχυντικὸν, otherwiſe παχύντον, or παχυντικὸν, *Multicia*, or *Bombycia*, a kind of e διαφανὲς ἔνδυμα, or a garment that hid the body ſo that it might be ſeen, *lucet ſic per Bombycina corpus*, ſayes f *Martiall*, ſuch Women uſed it.

g *Quæ tenui ſudant in cyclade, quarum*
Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.

It had the name ἀπὸ Ταραντίνων χρώσεως καὶ τρυφῆς, ſaith h *Pollux*, Ἐπιδέρμιδες ὄφεις, are like to be σαῦραι *Lacertæ*, ſuch as ſhe in *Theocritus* would have uſed in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄφεις worn about the wriſts τῶν καρπῶν: and the golden fetters I ſuppoſe to be ſtronger than woollen. But beſides all theſe, there was μυλοβολῶν, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple. *Cydonium malum* I mean, reported to grow in the garden of *Venus*, and uſed at Weddings (as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.) Thus when *Cydippe* was ſitting in the Temple of i *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Apple with this Inſcription, Μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμοῦμαι, or if you had rather have the Latine

Juro tibi ſane per myſtica ſacra Dianæ,

a *Ovid. Met. lib. 9. fab. 4.*
b *Ovid. Met. lib. 9. fab 5.*
c *Theoc. Pharmac.*
d *Lib. 8. E. 68.*
e *Pollux.*
f *Lib. 9. Ep. 6.*
g *Juvenal. Sat. 6.*
h *Lib. 7. c. 17 Petulans, madidumque Tarentum.*
i *Ariſtan. lib. 1 Ep. 10.*

Me tibi venturam comitem ſponſamque futuram.

And ſo made her think ſhee *took*, when ſhe did but *read* the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes threw back Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a peice, and threw it, it was enough: which made k *Philenis*, being jealous of her ſiſter *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peice of Apple in her lap. The l woman of *Theſſalie* are eſpecially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he ſayes) μαγεύειν ὅπως, ὅτε μὴ πρὸς ἐτέρην ἔτι ἢ ἄνθρωπον ἀποκλίνειν γυναῖκα, &c. And ſo for the women of *Egypt* (I think the ſex hath ſtill the Monopoly of Magick) however the *Egyptian* m Souldier came to miſtake in the *Doſis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the portion. For inſtead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Cæſonia* did her Husband *Caligula*, with an *Hippomanes*. Thoſe φίλτρα, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of ſuch herbs as diſpoſed the body to Venerie, ſuch as the ταφύλιον (rendered *Paſtinaca*) called by way of excellency, τὸ φίλτρον, ὅτι δυνατικὸν εἰς τὰ ἀφροδίσια, ſayes *Euſtathius*. *Plutarch* (if I miſtake not) in his Γαμικὰ Παραγγέλματα, expreſſes his diſlike of theſe courſes. But what? was there never a way to *unwitch* the party again? (for I head of ſome that can do this who cannot do the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit Phyſick (as *Leucippe* did) or by waſhing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Pauſanias* ſays) they uſed to do in *Achaia*; or elſe by Sacrifices or Charms, according as they imagined the cauſe. Whence thoſe words of the ‖ Nurſe to *Myrrha* incited by the furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own Father.

* *Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 11.*
k *Ariſten. lib. 1. ep. 15.*
l *Achil. Tat. l. 5. Theſſala vendit Philtra. Juvenal.*
m *Corgias apud Tat. l. 4.*
n *Suetonius.*
‖ *Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 9.*

Seu Furor eſt, habeo quod Carmine ſanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico luſtrabero ritu:
Ira Deûm ſive eſt, ſacris placabimus iram.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Usitato more significandi amorem.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a natural heate (as indeed the Soul is naturally inclined * ὥσπερ αἰδάνεσθαι, καὶ θλανοῦς, καὶ μνημονεύειν, ἔστιν καὶ φιλεῖν to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those Grecian Women had of their Sweet-hearts. Insomuch, that if you call to mind some of their choicest expressions thereof (especially that of *Ariadne* to *Theseus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarchs* mind, in approving the definition given by some of the old Philosophers, who said that it is, Θεῶν ὑπηρεσία περὶ ἐπιμελειαν καὶ σωτηριαν νέων. Not to tell you, that sometimes they sent a wooing to the men, pray take but a taste of their customes in this particular of expressing their love: To trim up their bodies as they did their *own* a with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doors (or τὰ ἐνόσια the parts of the house exposed to sight when the doors were open, ἐκθεμεν ἔνεκα τῆς παιδιᾶς, sayes *Hesychius*) was an ordinary caresse, though indeed (as b *Athenæus* sayes) they intend it chiefly to the honour of Ερως. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐρωμένῳ ἐρώμενον ἄγαλμα, τοῦτο γὰρ ὄντα τὸν ὅικον στεφανοῦσι, as making the body of a Sweet-heart the Image, and his house the Temple of Love. The tokens they usually sent were Garlands and Roses, τὰ στεφάνια μοι καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέμπε (sayes *Petale* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) sometimes bitten pieces of Apples, μῆλα ἐσθιδυσμένα (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with those expressions in fashion among the Romans when they sate at Table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morsels of meat, such as c *Martila* would have *Pontia* send him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or such as d *Ovid* speaks of,

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos præguſtaverit ipſe,

* *Plut. in Solon.*

* *In vita Thes.*

a *Eustath. Ism.*

b *L. 15.*

c *L. 6. ep. 7.*

d *Amor. l. 1. El. 4.*

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

e *De vita Cleric. ad Nepotian.*

But I muſt tell you S. *Hieroms* e cenſure, *deguſtatos cibos blandoſque, ac dulces literulas ſanctius amor non habet, it ought not to be ſo amongſt you. Symmachus* upon theſe words of the *Birds* in *Ariſtophanes* - ᾧ πῖσις ἐφῶσι σύνεζαν, ſays they were wont to gratifie one another with Birds, ſuch as Doves, and the σίττα, and the like. But theſe expreſſions I weigh but little, when I obſerve that ſcarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ὅπου πύχα ſaith the *Scholiaſt*) was paſſed by without writing f thereon the name of the party, in this form ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς, or κεῖνος καλὸς, for the word κεῖνος among the *Grecians* ſignified *amaſium, a Womans word*, like τῆνος in *Theocritus*,

f *Diog. Laer. in Diadoro.*

Ἴυγξ ἕλκε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τᾶνδρα.

Inſtead whereof (ſay ſome) you ſhall read κῆμος in the *Comedian in Veſpis*, but I ſee no ſuch need of a correction, for he ſpeaks of the Lawyer that was ſo much in love with the imployment of the Court, that the κῆμος a (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one ſuch thing or other ran ſtill in his mind, and therefore (ſays he)

a *Vid. p. 118.*

——— ἂν ἴδῃ τι γεγραμμένον καλὸν
Τὸν πυελάμπυς ὃν θύρᾳ δῆμον καλὸν,
Ἰὼν παρέγραψε κῆμος Καλὸς.

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their *Miſtreſſes*, which they wrote ſometimes upon the very leaves of the Trees according to that of *Callimachus*,

Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοισι κακομμύλα τόσσα φόρηις
Γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἐρέωσι Καλήν.
Let on the leaves ſo many letters lie,
As my *Cydippe Fair* may ſignifie.

which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his Ἔρωτες ſayes of one that was ready to die with the love of *Cnidia Venus*. Τοῖχος ἅπας ἐγεγράπτο, καὶ πᾶς μαλακὸς δένδρου φλοιὸς Ἀφροδίτην καλὴν ἀνέφαινεν, *not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a bark of a tree but what proclaimed* VENUS FAIR. How glad

glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do: but no wonder they did as they did, having a *copy* written to them by Nature (for

---- *Inscript' nomina rerum*
Nascuntur flores ——) and an *example* given them by *Apollo* himself, who when he turned *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name to keep his *memory* alive when he was dead; not contented with that,

Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit, & Ai, Ai, Ovid. Met. Lib. 10. Fab. 5.
Flos habet inscriptum ——

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preserved, and one half of his name, as the same Author hath it.

Littera communis mediis puerique viroque
Inscripta est foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ. Lib. 13. fab. 1

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unless there were written a Κῆνος καλὸς besides upon the same flower.

Νῦν Ὑάκινθε λάλον τὰ σὰ γράμματα, καὶ πλέον Αἰ Αἰ
Λάμβανε ταῖς πιτάλοισι, καλὸς τέθνηκε μελικτάς,

Καλὸς for him, and Καλὰ for her was sure to be written, for *never seem'd Mistriss foul, and Prison fair.* But for her part if she were Κυάνοφρυς, or had black eye brows she was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregory Nyssen*, καὶ ὀφρῦσι μέλαιναν πεποικιλμένην τὸ ὄμμα, insomuch that *Jul. Pollux* sayes, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς to black them: or if she were somewhat big of stature; and therefore *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick, puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τοῦ σώματος, as he doth σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the most commendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times esteemed to be the τὸ καλὸν of a man I know not. It seems in *Aristotle's* time it was counted most commendable, τὸ πρὸς τὰς πόνους χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τάς τε πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ πρὸς βίαν ἅδὺν ὄγκα ἰδεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν. But I have talkt too Theocrit.

long

long of Love, or of *Robin-hood*, that never ſhot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me, for caſting away ſo much oyle and labour upon ſuch a Subject, and (it may be) give his cenſure, that *Oratio eſt vultus animi.* But thoſe that know me will diſtruſt his Phyſiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am *in*, I will not ſtick, but *properè ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, * and proceed to the Nuptials themſelves.

Seneca Ep. 115.

* *Tacit.*

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unleſs the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or σταφυλὴ ὀμφακίζουσα, but a ſower grape (as *Euſtathius*) and not yet ripe) *Matura viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betrothed and yoaked together. The man did in the preſence of witneſſes, *promiſe himſelf* after the manner of the Latine form, *ſe ſponſam poſt concubitum invitam non deſerturum*, and ſo gave her one μνᾶσθαι or other in earneſt: but the woman ſhe was *deſponſata*, promiſed or beſtowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promiſes of a Woman were falſe enough to make the ſaying among the *French* to be true.

Qui femme croit & aſne meſme,
Son corps ne ſera ia ſans peine.

And yet (it ſeems) though they feared ſhe might break a promiſe, they thought an oath to be ſtrong enough to hold her: For ſometimes at the conſummation of the buſineſs, they went both into the *Temple*, & there engaged themſelves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practiſe of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Iſis*, where the man ſwore ἀγαπήσειν ἄδολος, and the woman ἀνδρα πείσεσθαι; καὶ πίστιν ἀπορῆναι διαιτήτῳ. I do not remember that the *Athenians*

Achil. Tat. lib. 5.

nians had that good fellows trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii*, as well as *Charitatis* & to *pledge their troth* in a *cup*, a trick by which a *Camma* is reported to have poysoned *Synorix* (whom she pretended to Marry) for kissing her Husband. Or that they used the custom of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a sword, related by b *Q. Curtius*. Surely it hath been a true *Roman consecration*, if they had. The rites usually observed at a wedding are said *c* to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say to take her leave of the *the d Virgin*. Besides this, before she can cease to be of the *herd* to the ἄζυγες * κῦρεαι, take heed, *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calf, never yet married in the *yoak*, (and so the fitter for the maid that gives, and the maid that takes) and a crop of her hair besides, according to that of *Euripides*.

a *Alex. ab Alex l. 2. c. 5.*

b *L. 8.*

c *Cal. Rhod. l. 7. c. 4.*

d παρθὸς ☞. *Minerva* so called.

e Μόσχοισι πρὸ γάμων, ἃς θεᾷ πρώτην χρεὼν
Ἀρτέμιδι.

e *Euripid. in Iphigen. Aul. versu* 11, 12.

And therefore *Clytemnestra* (speaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband,

f Πρόπολοι δ' ἔδρασαν ἱερεῖα θεᾷ;

f *Ibid. v.* 9, 11

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, she had not so much to *do* as to be a sacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddess of Aulis*, and to be made a Calf her self: When as our Woman, it will serve her turn to κανηφορεῖν to *Diana* the goddess of *Virginity*; that is, give her in a basket for a present to stop her mouth, some curious needle-work or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose g Ἀρτεμι μὴ νεμέσα ---*That she would not take it amiss if she married.* But now I must tell you, that besides those rites of the κανηφόρια, there were others as solemn as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddess. The man-

g *Theocr. Id.* 27.

manner of them, and the occasion you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Bear growing tame, came and lived in the δῆμος of the *Phlyades*; insomuch that at length a little girle durst go so far and so near, as to play with it, but the Bear quickly grew to be in earneſt, and drew her blood for the *ſtake*; whereupon one of her Brothers ſhot the Bear and killed it. Preſently after this there happened a very great Peſtilence in the City; and the Oracle being ſought unto, anſwer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they muſt make a decree, that every girle in the City of *Athens*, ſometime or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a κροκωτὸς or a Saffron colour garment, do offer and devote her ſelf to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girle thus conſecrated, was her ſelf called ἄρκτος the * Bear, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν to *play the Bear* (which methinks was very unfitting for a Maid) and ſometimes ἀρκατεύειν, becauſe commonly they deferred it till the laſt year, as ſhe did in a *Leuſiſtrate*,

* *Harpocr.*

a *Ariſtoph.*

Εἶ τ' ἀλετρὶς ἢ λικάτις
Οὖσα τ' ἀρχηγάτις
Κατὰχίσαι κροκωτὸν ὀν Βραυρωνίοις.

Ἐν Βραυρωνίοις ſhe ſayes, becauſe it was to be done in the Feaſt of *Brauronia* kept in the Moneth of *Munichion* to the honour of the ſame *Diana*, who a is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pauſanias* (*in Atticis*) ſays that Image of hers which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, inſomuch that ſhe came to be called by the name of *Diana* b *Brauronia*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can ſee, ſhe need not have been ſo ſcrupulous for diſpleaſing I know not whom, if ſhe had *Cecrops* his own Law for warrant, who firſt inſtituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore called by the name of Δευὸς, ſaith c *Euſtathius*: or elſe (according to the Scholiaſt upon d *Ariſtophanes*)

a *Athen. l. 6.*

b *Pauſan. in Arcad.*

c *Ad Odyſſ. Σ.*

d *In Plut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.*

ſtophanes) *quaſi* ἐχιδνοῦν δρᾶν τὰς δύο φύσεις τοῦ τε πατρὸς, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to *knowledg*) and in the way of a *certain* couple) or rather, if you will, the natures of a *Father* and a *Son*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But ſome again ſay, he had this name, becauſe of his having the bodies of two diſtinct natures: in the upper part of a man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as he ſays (in *Veſpis*)

Ὦ κόκκυ, πῶς ἄναξ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν δράκοντός ἐσθ'.

And others, becauſe of the many excellent Lawes which he made. Whereby he is reported ſo to have tam'd & civiliz'd the brutiſh conditions of the ancient people of *Athens*, that he ſeemed to have *new moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*; in the ſenſe, that the ſtones have been ſaid to be turn'd into Men, and the Trees into Lovers of Muſick. Of all the reaſons that are given, I like that beſt, which likes *e Rhodiginus*; who ſays he was called by this name, becauſe the *children* did now appear to be διφυεῖς, *come of two*, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but μονοφυεῖς, the Sons of a *Mother* only; nay hardly that, at ſuch time as the faſhion was to be *expos'd*, or *put out* to nurſing to Bears and Wolves and the like. But enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet. She muſt Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the paſt and in ſpecial manner to *Juno* γαμηλία, either as a *Pronuba* for the *preſent*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater familias* (as he in a *Plautus* calls her) for the future. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition; and I ſhould be glad if *we Chriſtians* could anſwer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ, &c. (as *Ariſtotle* ſays in his b *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum bonum* every day at the leaſt. The Sacrifices performed to *Juno* went under the ſeveral names of πανδήμια, τελεῖα, and τελείοις ἰυγαὶ, ὑμεναῖα, and γαμήλιοι ἀγαὶ, indeed the two

e *Lib.* c. 25.

a *In* Amphit. Act. 2. Sc.

b *Lib.* 1. c. 4.

first are sometimes the same that προβόλια, the gifts sent before the wedding, and the word περιτέλια is used also sometimes in relation to others as well as to *Juno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in (c) another place of the same Tragedy, you have the *Greek* Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus speaking;

(c) V. 433.

Ἀρτέμιδι περιτελίζει τλὼ νεανίδα
Αὐλίδ' ἀνάσσων τῇδε πότε.

(d) *Jul. Pol. l. 3. c. 3.* And so sometimes to the (d) *Parcæ*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *spar'd*, or to spin out their lives to the longest. But yet *Juno* (I think) was in a great deal more request among Lovers, then any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouths. For among the *Latines*, when they would express themselves in the most affectionate manner that might be, they used to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the old dotard does his *Casina* in the Poet ‖ by the name of *Juno*.

‖ *Plaut. in Casina Act. 1. Sc. 3.*

Eja mea Juno, non decet te esse tam tristem tuo Jovi.

Adde hereunto the title of Ἡγεμονία, (as there is also Χεὺς τέλειος) under which she was worshipped, which (together with the word περιτέλια) must be so said, either from τέλος anciently put for γάμος (as τελεῖσθαι was for γαμεῖσθαι) from whence comes τέλειον, both the Sacrifice and the day, or from περιτελεῖν to *initiate*, or from τέλης *adultus*, as if only such as were of age (& ὁ βίῳ τελείῳ) ‖ might be suffered to have the *happiness* to marry. Now *Juno adulta* and *Jupiter adultus* were the more religiously worshipped at such a time ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων (says *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner the *Prytaneis* and overseers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of *cry* about *sacrifices*, but you'l say the *Wool* is to come: onely some σπονδαὶ there must be, lest any Roman should grudg the Woman the name of a *Sponsa*. Now because (it may be) I set you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will speak a word or two more of them. The gifts

‖ Aristotle.

called

called by *Demosthenes*, Γαμηλια, was that which they sent to the μνηστῆρες for the making of a Feast, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called ἔδνα (as they did also those which they gave when they went a woing) But the ἱλαρὸν χιτῶν was a garment bestowed upon the Hu-band by the wife (giving of apparel was very usual once both with the *Jew* (*a*) & the *Gentile*) and you may not wonder at her for liberality, if she *gave a Cake to him that had a Pasty in the Oven*; for if she *brought* her φέρνας, she had her ἐπιφέρνια to *carry* away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to be *given* her self: for else (it may be) before it was come thus far, she might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme qui donne's abandoune, shee that gives it soon gotten.* The petty gifts then *given* by the Parents they cal'd μείλια, παιμείλια as were those which were given *after* the Wedding. The dowry bestowed upon her by her Father at the first, προῖξ: that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπίπροιξ. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be too free of their distinctions.) At her first coming to her husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her Friends τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was also the name of the day it self) otherwise called διαρπαγὰ, ἐπιδόσεια, ἀθρόσματα and παρθενοδαισία, and all for the same reason, *viz.* because those gifts were given, *ut illa pateretur se videri*, saies (*b*) *Victorius*, to make her take off her vail, & be seen in such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to those verses of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Phœnissis*.

a *Gen.* 8. 24. 5.

b *Var. Lect. l.* 25. *c.* 8.

Τῇ ῥά ποτε Κρονίδης Διὸς πόρε Περσεφονείῃ
Ἐν γάμῳ ὅτε πρῶτον μὴ ἐπωπήσασθαι ἄμειλλε
Νυμφιδίῃ σωφροσύνῃ παρακλίνασα κάλυπτρον.

Κάλυπτρον saies he, or καλύπτραν according to *J. Pollux*: for although

though she might now show her face and be modest nevertheless, yet *before*, she stood behind a red vayl or hood, with which she hid her self, and so deserved the name of עלמה if it were for no thing else *a* but for that. This *Luteous* vail is otherwaies called ἴυγδος, in Latine *Flammeum*, *a* in Heb. צעיף such a thing as *Rebeccah* had when she met with her Husband, *Gen* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse thing, c. 38, 19. The reason why they were not unveiled till they came to be *covert Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Carilaus* (cited by *b Cal. Rodiginus*) delivered *vail'd* under these words ὅτι τὰς μὲν κόρας ἀνδρᾶσι ἰυρῦν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας σώζειν τοὺς ἔχοντας. the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custom though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great aime when I say, *Aucta fuga forma est* ---

(as *Ovid* saies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I express my self in the words of *Nonnus*.

Καὶ πλέον ἱμείρασι καλυπτομένοιο πρασιόωντο.

Men long to see a face that's hid, the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife, that was none of the handsomest, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀναμαλυπτήρια, very handsomely answered to put it off, ὀνομαλυπτήρια μὲν ἂν τοιαύτῃ λαμβάνων, *I had more need to give her somewhat to let her vail alone, unless she were better than she is.* Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot well tell; but if they were (as I have some cause so to think, by those words] of (*a*) *Iphigenia* as she was going to be married, Ἐγὼ δ' ἀντᾶν ὄμμα δι' ἀκαλυμμάτων Ἔχω' --) then I must tell you they were so thin that their faces might well have been discovered; and the covering been let alone, for *Helen* it seems, could see the flowers through them.

a See another reason in *Prov.* 3. 19.

a Juv. Sat. 2.

b L. 13. 46.

a Eu Aul. v. 372.

b Eurip. Hel. v. 150.

b Ὀσ' ἀι χλοεραὶ
Δροσοβάφοι τῶν πέπλων
Ῥόδια πέταλα ———

But

But this may be eaſily anſwered; for as (you know) a *mountain* that is a far off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between, ſo again, one man is able to ſee another plainly thorow that which is ſufficient to hide *himſelf*. And ſo much for the gifts at preſent, perchance you may have more anon. Now the cuſtome was for the Bride to be carryed from her παρθενὼν Chamber to her Husband, in a Coach or ſome ſuch kind of thing) which the poor Girle in the * Poet (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuſe) could term little better then being *ferried* in *Charons* boat. * *Id. in Tauris v.370. &c.*

Ἄδις Ἀχιλλεῖς ὢν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ πηλέως
Ὃν μοι προσῆπας πόσιν· ὃν ἁρμάτων δ' ὄχοις
Εἰς δίαυλον γάμον ἐπορθμεύσας δόλῳ.

To *Pluto*, not to *Peleus's* ſon
You would me then have married,
When me to bloody Nuptials
In Coach and Fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather ſo much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he ſaies, he had done this office for *Helen* himſelf.

Λακεδαίμων μεμνήμεθ' ἃς ἦ τοῖσδε βροτοῖς
Ἵππαις προχέζων περίοπτον σύδ' ὃν δέρτοις
Σὼ πῦρ ἦ νυμφῳ δῶ μ' ἔλαυνες ὄλεθρον *Id. in Hel. v. 728.*

(I make bold to trouble you with ſo much Greek, becauſe it explains the cuſtome ſo fully.) The ſong which they ſung as they went along, they called ἁρμάτειον μέλος, from ἅρμα the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as ſoon as they came to the Bridegrooms door, *ut ſignarent illam ibi perpetuo manſuram, neque inde ulla tempeſtate* * *receſſuram*; to ſhew that ſhe was never to return from thence again: juſt as *William* the Conqueror burnt his ſhips at *Pevenſey*, that ſo his Souldiers ſeeing his return to be deſperate, might Fight the more *deſperately* (as we uſe to ſay) or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγὸς, νυμφευτὴς, or ἔννυμφος that * *Alex. ab Alex.*

was sent to fetch her, either sate by his side in the same Coach, or else went along by her *Coaches* side in another, & was therefore called παράοχος, from ὄχος; unless that she were either *willing*, or *constrain'd* to *foot* it; for then he could be but χαμαίπους a *Pedee*, This custome for the husband to lead his wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his *second Marriage*, for then saies *a Eustathius*) ἐθέμις (ὑνυβ. μισαι saies *b Pollux*) ἢ νυμφίον μεῖναι, he might not do it himself, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former wife were dead, as it may be I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter. Besides the νυμφίδης, or the *Brideman*, & some of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφεύτρια, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her vaile, & dress, & undress, and do other such offices as should be required. Her Wedding *Ornaments* were pretious stones & jewels, especially about her bed, such as *a Hermione* had in the Tragedy. Κοσμεῖν μὲν ἀμφὶ κρατὶ χρυσόεις χλιδῶς. Her *Wedding Garment* was all of purple save in one place (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where else) ἔνθα γ' ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐσθῆσιν ἢ χώρα ἡ πορφύρεος ἐκὴ χρυσὸς ἰῶ; and there was gold, which agrees very well with that of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*,

Οὔπω ἔργ' οἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venter upon this custome to interpret τὸν πορφύρεον ἢ παρθενίας (in *b Eustathius*) in another sense than others have done. When she came to the house, she found the Doors all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obsita*, saies *c Apuleius*: it seems they tarryed not till *d Juvenals* time --- *Foribus suspende Coronas*

Jam pater es! --- Neither was it any whit strange to her to see those ornaments upon the *House*, for she herself had the same according to those words of *Clytemnestra* to *Achilles*.

Σοὶ

a *In Homeri Il. β.*
b *L. 3. c. 5.*
a *Eurip. Androm. v. 147.*
b *Ism. l. 10*
c *L. 3. Met.*
d *Sat. 9.*

d Σοὶ κατέστεφεν ὑμὲ νύμφην ὡς γαμουμένῳ. d *Eurip. Ehig. in Aul. v.* 705

And (I think) her Husband too μηδὲ στεφανώσης, μηδὲ περσίσης ἄνδρὸς νυμφίου, says a *Lybanius*, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trim the Husband; as it was the Mothers to adorn the Wife. The custome of adorning the *House* with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, & as much detested by the Christians, *Christianus nec Laureis januam infamabit*, says f *Tertullian*. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*, or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Bœotia*; or else of the leaves of the hearbs Σισύμβριον, Σήσαμον, and Μήκων, and so they made them at *Athens*, Σήσαμα δὲ καὶ μάκωνες καὶ σισύμβρια φύλλα εἰς στεφανοῦνται οἱ νυμφίοι, says the a Scholiast; the leaves had the name of the Hearb in the plural number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum* leaves had the name of Σησαμῆ or Σησαμίς, but the *Cake* which they made of the grain was called Σησαμοῦς. For Cakes they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* sayes in the a Comœdy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

f *De Coron. Milit. c.* 13.

a Upon *Aristoph. in Pa.*

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπεπται Σησαμῆ ξυμπεπλεγμένη. a *Aristoph. Pac.*

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather then any other thing διὰ τὸ πολύγονον (says the Scholiast) as it were the herb *Polygonum*, a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kembing her hair with a Spear (such as had been kept by a Fencer with the loss of his life) were in use among the *Grecian* women too (as some b say it was) I cannot determine. But among the *Romans* it was, and they called such a spear *hastam cœlibarem*. The reason why the Woman made use of such a comb, or made this use of a spear, is thought to be, either *quasi fortes eâ de causâ viros se genituram ominetur*, *because she ominated that by this meãs she should have strong men to her children*, or *quod sponsi disciplinæ se subditam fateatur*. *Because she acknowledg'd her self subject to her husbands discipline*. As the woman went forth of her

b *Alex. ab alex. l.* 2. *c.* 5.

fathers

thers houſe ſhe was to be *lifted* out over the threſhold, juſt as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a conſtraint. You ſee, tis *ducere (Uxorem)* almoſt every where, and yet they ſay, that *Love will Creep where it cannot go* As ſhe entred into her Husbands houſe, the [a] Boyes and Maids fell a throwing of Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *ſycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulneſs* διοτελείας σημεῖον, (ſays *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a fooliſh cuſtom once in faſhion with ſome of us, *viz.* upon *Twelf-Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toſted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and ſo to cry *Whatſayle*, and ſing a *Carmen* for a fruitful year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they cal'ed κατάχυσματα, as the word is uſed by the Poet in his Comœdy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to do the like upon him, and ſo to give him the *loy* for his new bought eyes; ſays ſhe

[a] *Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*

——Κωμῶν καταχύσματα
Ὥσπερ νεωνήτοιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐμοῖ

Upon which words the Scholiaſt notes it to have been the cuſtome alſo for a new ſervant, at his firſt comming into the houſe, to have him to the fire ſide, and there to *ſow* upon his head κάλαυζα, ἰσχάδας, σύκινα, Junkets, and Figs, and Palm-branches, and a hundred other ſuch trinkets. But this I think was done, not onely as *be* ſayes, εἰς εὐτελείας σημεῖον, to make it an *omen* of fruitfulneſſe (as they had done to his Maſter before) but alſo for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) do the *Freſhmens Gaudies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but ſome *beaſt* or other was beſtowed upon *them* for a *victime*. In the cutting of it up (to ſhew that in Wedlock all bitterneſs and choller muſt be caſt aſide) they took the [a] Gall, and flung it with a moſt eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice.

[a] *Caſ. Rhod. l. 20. c. 21.*

I

if there happened any thing *obscene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were dissolv'd, and thus it happened to b *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*; for an Eagle came and snatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was usually performed by the Fathers (and none so fit to be the Priests of their own family) as may be gathered from the practise of c *Agamemnon*; who when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding cheer*, very religiously made answer yes,

b Ach. Tat. l. 2.

c Eurip. Iph. in A. v 721.

Θύσας γε δόμοθ' ἅπερ ἔχεις θύσω δόμοις.

When I have done my Wedding *Sacrifice*.

As also by that which you may read of the like practice in *Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Leucippe* and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more especiall manner to *Jupiter* Ὁμογνίῳ, and *Juno* Συζυγία, as it may appear by that of *Libanius*, τὰ παιδὸς ἐτύγχανε, ᾧ δμόγνιον Διὰ, ᾧ Ἥρᾳ Συνωρίαν ἐθύομεν πάτριον. By reason of this, and other solemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a Prophanation they made it to disturb the business never so little, or to offer any *incivility* to either of the parties, especially to the Wife: as for instance; One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the story in *Phocius Codice* σθ.) being accused of Bribery to the *Areopagus*, they summon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to answer the crime; but the Sergeants that were sent (saith my Author) τὰ πρόθυρα ἰδόντες ἐστεφανωμένα, ᾠ γνόντες ὡς εἰη πάθος νυμφικὸς γάμοις, ἐφόντες ἐζήτουν ἀνεχώρησαν: ὡ δὲ δήσοντες ἔχων ἐπιστολὴν γυναικὶ νεογάμῳ, as soon as they saw but the *signs* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door) & were informed of a Nuptial Sacrifice, because they would not rush in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they made no more enquiry after the man, but returned presently back again, and the Court was contented with the news. So likewise in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted several Letters of his to his friends, and amongst the rest

Libanius Declam. 35.

one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*; when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out μήτε λύειν, μήτε ἀναγινώσκειν, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up. a Πῶς γὰρ γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ἢ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλεῖν ἀπορρήτων ἀνδρὸς, ἐκ ὑπόπτου δημοσίᾳ, ἰσχυρὸς εἶ), because they thought it a thing no way beseeming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his wife. From the service of their *Gods*, they made haste to the service of their *Genius*; but amidst of a great deal of good chear, the man & the wife were always noted (*a*) for a great deal of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughs of Acornes, singing as he went b ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, *I* (or *they*) *have avoided a worse evil, and met with a better.* If he spake in the person of the man, he meant that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the *three evils* at the least; & so it is not so bad as *out of the frying pan into the fire* (unless you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of leesing her, for so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and six pence, hath some loss by the mony.* The Musick which they had was singing ἀμοιβαῖοι, by turns, and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Talassius*) c Ὑμὴν, ὦ Ὑμεναῖε ὦ Ὑμὴν, imitated by him in *Plautus*.

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankful commemoration* of one of that name, who had sometimes saved the Maids of *Athens* from a generall ravishment; (such as there was once of the *Sabines*) or else in a *sorrowful commiseration* of another, that happen'd to be killed by the fall of a house that very day that he Married. Whatever the *Man* was, they seem to have given him the honour of a God, and therefore to have been very loath to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the Nuptial Ceremonies.

a *Phocins* ib.

a *Athenæus lib. 9.*

b *Zenobius.*

c *Aristoph. in Avib.*

Quid

Quid si etiam offendam Hymeneum?

saies he in *a Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their *Io Hymen Hymenæe*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

a *In Casinam Act. 4. Sc 3.*

ὅταν ξυὼ ὑμεναίοισιν ἐξάγω κόρη.

saies *Clytemnestra*; *b* which agrees with that of the other Poet in the same place.

b *Eurip Iphig. in A. v. 693.*

Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,
Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.

Whether 'twere the fashion in *Greece* to set the woman first in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tel: but (if I mistake not) *Lactantius* has somewhat of such a thing, and I might speak more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the woman was led into the Chamber (ἡ θάλαμον or ἡ παστάδα) to shew whereto she must, there was a sieve carryed along with her, and a pestle hung at the door, σημεῖα αὐτουργίας (as *I. Pollux* saies) or to signifie that hereafter she must learn to *put her hand* to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were *both* in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince apple*, and eat it between them, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἀπὸ σώματος, καὶ φωνῆς χάριν ἐυάρμοστον εἶναι πρώτην καὶ ἡδεῖαν, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signifie *the pleasantness and harmony that should be in their talk at first*. And yet notwithstanding now they are in the very Bed-chambe, if a Chough would come and scold (*grave cornicaretur* forsooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at least) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀνοικοδόμητον δῶμα: or γάμων ἀτελῆ, becaus by this means

a --- *Conjux miseranda Cayco*
Linquitur & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.

a *Valer. Flac.*

δῶμα I said (or if you will οἰκοδόμημα speak a little finer) δωμάτιον; for this word is many times used by it self for θάλαμος, as it seems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Repub.* speaking of *Jupiter* thus, καὶ ὅτως ὁπλαγάτω ἰδόντε ἢ ἄκοντε, ὥστε

δὲ οἷς τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀθέλητον ἀληθῶν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν βουλόμενον χαμαὶ συγ-
b *Epy. l. 2.* γένεσθ. And yet I think *b Heſiod* (without any wrong done him) may be underſtood of any other buſineſs left *Rough-hewn, unpoliſh'd*, or not *done over* again, when he ſaies

c *Apud Euſt. l. 5.*
Μηδὲ δόμον ποιεῖν ἀνεπιξεσον κεκαλοίσιν
Μήτοι ἐφεζομένη κράζῃ λακέρυζα κορώνη.

c *Ifmenias* applies it indeed to our purpoſe; but now to prevent ſuch an *omen* as this, they ſet the boies to cry Κόρη ὀκκάζει κορώνην, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been ſet to keep off the Rooks from the corn: κορώνην (I ſay) and not κορώνας, in the plural number; for herein the *Scholiaſt* upon *Pindar* is ſuppoſed to have miſtaken; becauſe neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky; unleſs it came in the ſingular number; and then the *birds* being ſingled & divided one from the othen could not poſſibly be a good ſigne to thoſe that were to be *coupl'd*, and joyn'd together. But ſome notwithſtanding like the Coughs for *very good lucky birds* (as we uſe to ſay) let them come how they will; either becauſe they are πολύζωοι (as *Homer* cals them long-liv'd, or becauſe
a *Alex. ab Alex. l. 6. c. 5.* *ea cornicum ſocietas eſt* (ſaies *a* one) *ut ex duabus Sociis, altera extincta, vidua altera perpetuo maneat.* Now in the Chamber where they were to lie, they had two beds, *viz.* Κλίνην γαμικὴν, & κλίνην παρέβυσον, or a *ſide-bed* for a change, or ὑφ' ᾗ τὸ παιδὶ μὴ ἀθυμῆσαι ſaith *Heſychius*. If the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would term the bed κυελίσιον λέχος, as *Ariſtophanes* does (in *Pace*) and ſo
* *Homer.* κυελίσιον * δῶμα for the houſe, and κυελίη for the wife. Before the woman could lie with the man, ſhe was to have her bath of water heated of purpoſe to waſh her body in, νυμφικὸν λοῦτρον they called it according to that of the Comedian in *Luſiſtrate*. Στρ. Ὦ λέκτρων, ἵνθα παρθένοι λύσ' ἐγώ
Χορ. Κορεύμαθ' ὅπ. ὧν δ' ἀνδρός.
And in *Pace*, you have *Trigæus* when he intended to marry

Opora

Opora, giving order to his servant, as soon as he had brought her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' ὕσπαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν
Καὶ τλῶ τύελον κατάκλυζε. χὠ θέρμαιν' ὕδωρ
Στόεμυ θίμοι χὴ τῆ χουείδιον λὸχῶ.

This water at first was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe* wel, ὃν ἡ καλλίρροῆς, εἶτ' αὖθις ὅτ' ἡ ὀγνιαχρύνυ κληθύσης. But afterward, saies (*a*) *Pollux*, from *Enneacrunos*, which was so called because it had nine several κρήνας, or *fistulas*, or *salientes*, where the water sprung up, & so you might allow one for every Muse in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two distinct names of the same Well. The one expressing what *fair water* it was, or how well and clear it ran; and the other in how many places; for it may very well be thought so by that verse of (*b*) *Statius*.

a L. 3. c. 3.

Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis
Implicat ----

b *Theb.* 12.

Nay, *Thucidides* saies positively, they were the same. Only that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usual when they new made a thing to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunos*. Which if it be so I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ὃν τῆς Καλλιρρόῆς εἶτ' αὖθις τῆς ὀγνιαχρύνυ κληθύσης. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrunos*. The woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the Λυτροφόρῶ. When the Wife was ready to undress, her Mother took her hairlace and winding it about one of the *Torches* (for they had δαΐδας νυμφικὰς too) burnt it out and made up her hair with a new. The *Mother* I said. For *she* commonly would δαδουχῆν, carry the torches, or *hold the candle* to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* used to do.

--- Non te duxit in thalamos parens
Comitata primos, nec sua festa manu

Ornavit ædes, nec ſuâ lætas faces
Vitta revinxit --- ſaies * *Jocaſta*

*Senec. Theb. For the matter of theſe Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet aſſur'd: whether it were *Coryalis*, commonly uſed for ſuch purpoſes, accrding to *Pliny*; or *Larex*, or *Spina alba*, which they uſed amonſt the Romans: and ſo likewiſe for their number, whether the cuſtom were to have juſt five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to *viz. Jupiter Adultus, Juno Adulta, Venus, Suadela*, & *Lucina*; they have not given me light enough to diſcover, a little glimmering I have, and ſome cauſe to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwiſe why ſhould the covetous Father in *a Libanius* complain ſo heavily (among other charges he was put to in marry ing his daughter) that he could not ἐνι λύχνῳ πλὼ νύμφιον ἀγαγεῖν, light the Bride to bed with one & on more. But for the bearer that it was uſually the Mother, will appear by the diſcourſe that paſſed between *Clytemneſtra* and her Huſband in the *Poet*; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, & leave her daughter with him; ſhe askt him

a *Declam.* 37.

* Eurip. *Iph. in Aul. v.* 734.

τίς δ' ἀμφιχύσει φλόγα, *but who ſhall carry the Torches then?* and being anſwered ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς, ὁ νυμφίοις πρέπον, that he meant to do it himſelf: nay quoth ſhe οὐχ ὁ νόμος ὅτος ἀλλὰ σὺ δοκεῖς ἥδ' ἡμῖν τάδε, *that was not the cuſtom, neither do you your ſelf think it to be handſome and fitting.* And indeed, I think, *Clytemneſtra* was wrong'd: for it ſeems to have been reckoned not ſo much the *office* and the *charge* as the *Priviledge*, and the *honour* of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of the ſad conſequents of her baniſhment from the company of her Children, to be debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Weddiug. *O my dear children, quoth ſhe, what a Wretch am I, who muſt thus leave you before I carry the Torches.*

a Πεῖν λίκτρα, ἀ γυναῖκα ἀ γαμηλίους
Ἑωὰς ἀγῶλαι λαμπάδας τ' ἀμφιχύσειν.

a *Eurip. Med.* 1025.

Tis

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have *lighted* the Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, because then he had done no more then other fathers used to doe. Δᾷδας γαμηλίους ὑπάνηπλον: *I lighted the Torches*, says he in * *Libanius*. But this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may believe the Authour in these words which he puts in *Niobes* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's* upon the death of her children, Ἐγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ὕμιλω προσάψων (not onely ἀναστήσειν) τοῖς νιοῖς καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις; *I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding*, &c. At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba shaved* the woman (whether because she had *vowed* to be henceforth her Husbands) and so delivered her up to the man (if she had gone among the * *Israelites* when she was thus used, certainly the people there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife.) The *Zona* which the Woman wore was untied by the Husband in the bed ζώνη δὲ λύε ὁ κόσος ὃν ἔδυσεν αἰ παρθένοι; ὃς καὶ ἐκλύσει πολυ ἀνδρόγυνος γίνοιτο, says the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of Λυσιζώνη might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child-bearing, and worshipped she was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd besides this; or whether it was tyed and untyed again; or whether one knot were untyed at first time, and another at the second, there's the *knot* of the question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes.) Indeed that there was a *Zona* untied the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by those words of *Alcestes*.

* *Decl.* 35.

* *Deut.* 21. 12

Ω λέκτρον, ἵνθα παρθένου λύω ζώνας
Κορίσματ' ὀκ τῶν' ἀνδρῶς.---

And that there was another left to be untied at the time of child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Herculaneus*

neus nodus formerly mentioned; because (I suppose) they call'd it by that name in allusion not so much to *Hercules* his strength, as if they would have it the *faster*, that is the stronger *ty'd*; as to his happiness in making of children, as if they would have it the safter *unty'd*, as fast as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had seventy children just. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maids (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroom*) stood at the chamber door, and sung their ἐπιθαλάμια or γαμήλια, with as great noise as possibly they could, ἵνα ἡ παρθένε βιαζομένης, ὑπὸ τῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξακέσεται, says the Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, so that if the Wife should *Cry out* (as we say) before her time, she might not be heard. Which they had no such need to doe, if that be true which they say, that one of the *Brids* friends, whom they called the θυρωρὸς, usually did him that good office to stand Sentinel at the door, and keep the woman off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not so much *wedded* to his *pleasure*, as to be clean *divorced* from his friends; for besides the feast which he made altogether for the woman (called Θεσμοφόρια, by *Isæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the φράτορες, as his father in law had done before him. This making of Feasts at Weddings was properly called δαῖσαι τὸν γάμον, as it is in the Tragedy.

Pollux l. 3. c. 3.

Iphig in Aul. v 707. & 720.

Κ' ἄπωθε δαίζουσι τὸν γάμον —

And a little before.

Ἔνταῦθ' ἥδισαν πηλίκων γάμων θεοί.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work; for they also kept a Feast of purpose for the women besides. And therefore says *Clytemnestra* in the place but now cited,

Ἡμῖν μὲν ὁ δοῦλος τῇ γυναικὶ θήσομαι.

The saying *aujourd huy marié, & demain marri*, to day Wedded, and to morrow saddled, would scarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ran as fresh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the house

house in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with suits of Clothe's and all sorts of Houshold stuffe, as Spoones, and Cups, and the like: a custome observed by the *Lacedemonians* with so much pride and excesse, that *Solon* was faine to make a Law to restrain the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed, they called ἀπαύλια (as those which I presented you before, were called ἐπαύλια) and sometimes δωτάρπυια, as being that which (to speake in *Juvinals* words)

Primâ pro nocte datur— and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glauca*. But so with a vengeance, as she made them ἄδωρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which she gave her the roast.

Πέμψαι γὰρ αὐτῇ δῆτ' ἔχοντας ἐν χεροῖν — 2 *Eurip. Med. v.* 784.
Νύμφη σφ' ἀφεῖντας &c.

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing παύλια for the first ἀπαύλια (when the garment called ἀπαυλιστρὶς was given by the Woman to the Man) for the second, and ἐπαύλια for the third. 1. *Pollux. l. 3. c. 3.*

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THe time of the *year* which they deemed most lucky to Marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *Nefastous* time and daies) was the first Moneth of the Winter. (Clean contrary to the custome of the *Persians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they *chalked* but one part of the year, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a *coale*, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, [a] *Mense malas Maii nubere.* a *Ovid. l. 5. Fast.*

Quæst. Rom. 8. it may be *malum* by [b] *Plutarches* consent. The best day of the *Month*, they rekon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moon; that they might be *brought to bed* (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the *day* was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might *go to bed* the sooner. Just at these seasons *Themis* in * *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

[b] 9.

* *Isthm. H.*

——ὁ δίχεμνυίδεσσι
Δὲ ἑσπέριος ἱρατὸν
Λύει κὰν χαλινὸν ὑ-
φ' ἥρως παρθενίκ.

But I make no question, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be *born* ἐν τετράδι *Quartâ Lunâ*, as *Hercules* had besides * *Hesiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I beleeve he meanes μηνὸς ἰσαμένου of the first third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, so that no *Oscinous* bird did *obscævare* of *occinere*, *sing another song* to the contrary.

* *Ἐργ. 43.*

Ἐν τετράδι μηνὸς ἐγκυδιάειν ὅλον ἄκοιτιν
Ὀρνῖθες κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἔργματα τέτρατα θεῖεν.

Whereas the ἕκτη μηνὸς (as he calls the Eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad again, especially for the Woman. But I must confesse, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddesse especially having [a] Agamemnon too (a man on my side, who when the queston was ask'd ——τίνι δ' ἡμέρᾳ γαμεῖ; made answer.

[a] *Eurip. Iphig. in A. v. 717.*

Ὅταν Σελήνης ἐυσκόπου κύκλος.

When that blessed season of Full Moon shall come.

I do not find the *Romans* to have been so scrupulous as to think Marriage to be *imperfect*, unlesse it were at the *full*, or never to be as good as it should be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. 'Tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones* and the *Ides*, were daies of another *colour*, black and unsuitable

with

with the mirth of a Wedding: and so were all Holy-dayes whatsoever, and the reason you have given by [b] *Macrobius* in these words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: Ideo nunc vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur.* To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-dayes, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-dayes to any, neither *Religious* dayes (as they call'd them) to such as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *postriduani dies*, that is the first dayes after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not do if she married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widdow* might be suffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reason) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feast of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Besides having of *non-licet* dayes they had a custome to Marry only upon such a day as by the judgment of the Astrologer (to whom they sought) *copulas nuptiales affirmet*. But so much may suffice concerning the *time* of Marrying. I proceed to speak of the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

[b] *L. 1. Sat. c. 15.*

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THe Conditions required in a Husband were these. First, he must be no stranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were sold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly he must be no lesse then five and thirty years old, according to the *Law*; and according to [a] *Aristotle* two yeares elder. But according to *Hesiod* a little younger, or a little elder is seasonable enough.

[a] *Polit. 7.*

Μήτε γαμικὸν ἔτι σὺν μάλα πολλὸ ἀπολείπειν

Μήτ' ἐπιδίκις μέλαν πλέα.

Thirdly if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were ὀπίαλος, sole Daughter and Heir (such a one as *Aristophanes in Vespis* calls ἐπίκληρον or παρθένον) he must be one of the same house, and the next of the blood. But then there alwayes were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) some others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the businesse with him and plead to the same; and then such Women were called ἐπίδικοι, [b] and the whole suit Ἀμφισβήτησις: The question was wont to be decided by the *Prætor*. Lastly, he must not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at least he might not be so, upon pain of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Cittizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, Μήτ' ἐξουσίαν δίδω μήτε μοιχὸν λόγον παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὃ τιθεὶς ἐὰν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπάγων whosoever shall *superinducere novercam*, *let him be* ἄτιμος, *&c.* Besides the hurt done to the Children (it being as *good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Stepdame*) gave one pretty reason more against being the *Husband of two Wives* in this sense, by way of *dilemma*: you shall have his words, as I found them in [a] *Arsenius* his Ἀποφθέγματα Φιλοσόφων *&c.* saies he, Εἰ τὴν ἐπίκλητον ἔγημας τὸ πρῶτον δ' ἀνδρῶν κατέπαυσον: εἰ δὲ ἐπίκλητον μὴ ἔγημας τὴν πρώτην δεύτερον λαβεῖν πάλιν, ἦν γὰρ ἀλήθεια ὁ δὶς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ σφάλμασιν ὁμαρτάνων ἀνὴρ ἂν δικαίως νομισθείη, *If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife, thou should'st have kept thee well while thou wast well: if thou had'st not, thou art little better then a Fool or a Madman, to stumble again at the same stone.*

b 1.*Poll.l.3.c.* 3.

a *Moenumbasiæ Archiepisc.*

CAP.

CAP. X.

Qua requirantur in Uxore.

THe Qualifications required in a Wife, were these. First she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the *yoake*. For otherwise the Marriage was counted συνουσία rather then γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) κτητὴν ἀγαυστιβόην——— If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no lesse then a thousand δραχμὰς to the Citty. This Law though it were for a time *let down* by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was *brought up* again by *Aristophon*. Secondly, she must be six and twenty years of Age. And yet *Aristotle* even in [b] *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen. Out of indulgence to the Sex surely: for else he thinks it very unfitting they should Marry so young both because ἐν ταῖς τόκοις πονοῦσι μᾶλλον, &c. they travell with a great deal more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deal more intemperance; and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used to make such hast, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματα, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge of stature as else they would be. But then there is * another who would be willing to let them Marry a yeare or two sooner then he,

[b] *L. 7. c. 16.*

* *Hesiod. Oper.*

Ἦ γυνὴ πέπτῃ ἐνιαύσιον, πεμπάσιν ἢ γαμοῖτο.

And [a] another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)

[a] *Eurip. in Hec. v. 12.*

Ἐπὶ δ' εἰς ἔβλω ἦλθεν, ὡραίων γάμων.

Cùm ad pubertatem venit, tempestivis nuptiis.

Thirdly she must be but one, and no more according to [b] *Athenæus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men, to make the more hast for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; whom they made use of only *ad concumbendum* for the present occa-

[b] *L. 13.*

sion) and that Children begotten upon such a Wowan were accounted for γνήσιοι, *as good as the best*. And what will you say, if *Socrates* himself made use of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fel out, and were presently reconcil'd again by their husband, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were thus to to fall out for one unhandsome Man. But * others there be again that deny the whole, During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water, γάμῳ ξυνοικεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα. Unlesse you will have the man to stand out. [a] *Hermione* her selfe, though she were *super inducta* over, *Andromache*'s head, did altogether dislike the increase of the number.

* *Rhod. Panætheus.*

[a] *Eurip. Androm. v. 177.*

—— ὑπὲρ γὰρ καλὸν
Λυπεῖν γυναικεῖον ἀνδρὸς ἐν λέκτροις ἔχειν.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίφθονόν τι χρῆμα θηλειῶν ἔφυ,
Καὶ ξυγγάμοισι δυσμενὲς μᾶλλον ἀεί.
Such envious things the Women are,
That fellow-wives they cannot beare.

[b] *Eurip. ib.*

And verifi'd they have been, not only by [b] her own example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greeks, especially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magical devises, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then [a] *partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd and so she told the other.

[a] *Juven. Sat. 2.*

—— συγγίνεσθαι δ' ἀνδρὶ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς
Νηδὺς δ' ἀκίνητον δι' σὲ καὶ στεῖρα γένοι.

When such courses as these are taken.

Turgida

b *Turgida non prodeſt conditâ pyxide Lyde,* Neither the keeping of a ſpider in a box, nor the laſh of a naked *Lupercus* will do any good. Fourthly, ſhe might be halfe a ſiſter to the huſband, ſo it be meant not ὁμοπατρίᾳ, or ὁμογαστρίᾳ, or *uterina*; but only ὁμοπατρίᾳ, by the Fathers ſide, or *germana*, as the word is uſed by *Æmilius Probus*; (whether in its *germane ſenſe* I know not) where he ſpeaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Siſter *Elpiniçe*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio ſororem germanam ſuam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quam patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet eodem patre natas Uxores ducere.* This act of *Cimon's*, *Athenæus* thinks to have been done δολίως contrary to the Laws, and ſo in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* ſaies he did it in a publick manner, not only by making her his concubine to lye with him συνεῖναι, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning συνουσία, but συνοικεῖν, taking her into his houſe to live with him, and that for a lawful cauſe, (as he thought) *viz.* becauſe ſhe was to ſeek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I do not ſee how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous.*

b *Juvet.* ib.

L. 13.

——σαὶ τε μητρὶ μίγνυται,
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ——

When Son is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Siſter with the Brother.

Unleſſe you will maintain the goodneſs of the practiſe *then*, by the greatneſs of the Perſon that uſed it before, I mean *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleas'd) Fiftly, ſhe muſt be no Baſtard, unleſſe ſhe were intended for a Baſtard-maker, and in a *Proletarions* manner, only for *breed*, I meane for a Concubine: for ſuch I take to be little better then what *Talthibius* once ſaid poor *Caſſandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* a λέκτρων σεμνὰ νυμφεύσειν, and the Children little better then σκότιοι, if the Father were more in the *dark*.

a *Eurip. in Troad. v.* 251.

As for the Portion or Eſtate, ſhe was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heir to the whole Eſtate: or ἐπίπροικος; that had a Brother, and no more then her part, or a *portion*. The greateſt diſtinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προῖξ, or a portion. Inſomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἄπροικος; yet he would have προικῶα, the *Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the beſt. Thoſe writings were ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of witneſſes, and the man did ἐνέχυρόν τι ἀποτίμων, make over to the Woman ſome Houſe or Land in exchange, and this they call'd

a Ἀντίφωνα. a ἀντίμενα.

CAP. XI.

De Divortiis.

And now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a month (once for every part; for they divided their Month into three parts,) or elſe if ſhe were an ἐπίκληρος ſhe might go to *another*, unleſs he were able to excuſe himſelf by a lawful impediment. Such as coming from Funerals is accounted by b *Heſiod* in thoſe words of his:

b L. 2. Μήδ' ἀπὸ δ' Ἀζόμενοι τάφου ἀποτεισάμενοι τε,
Σημαίνειν γαμέλιον.

Or by any other unſeaſonableneſſe of time: for that they thought ſome times more ſeaſonable then other, & ſome fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appear by the words of the ſame Poët: ſpeaking of the ſixt day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδρόγονος δ' ἀγαθὴ, κούρη δ' οὐ συμφορὸς ἔστι.

And a little after of two other dayes.

Ἑβδόμη δ' ἀνδρόγεω δικάτη, κούρη δὲ τετράς.

But if they were about any ſolemne Sacrifice to the Gods, be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either.

And

and therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israelites) to abstaine altogether, or ἀγνῶς ἔχειν, *pure habere*, as the Poët call'd it *in Asinario*.

Si fortè purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἐπίκληρος were overlaid, or any way abus'd by her Husband, she might have a writ ἐπὶ ἀποστασίῳ καὶ ἐπικλήρου, otherwise called διαγγελίαν, and be suffered to leave him; and this they called [a] ἀπολείπειν: whereas if the Husband would part with *her*, it was call'd ἀποπέμπειν, because he might tarry in his own house, and be rid of her company never the lesse. But one thing I must tell you too, that for either party to *leave*, or to *put away* the tother, was a thing alwaies very much detested among the Grecians. Insomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the custome was for so many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to *buy his pig in the poke*, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct upon *Lysander* himself for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ἀπολείπειν, for the Woman to separate from the Man, 'twas a thousand times worse then ἀποπέμπειν, even flat rebellion, or *delinquency* at the best. Hear but what [b] *Medea* saies of it.

[a] *Schobin Aristoph. in Equit.*

—ἡ γὰρ εὐκλείᾳς ἀπάλλαγαί,
γυναιξὶν, ἢ δ' ὅπως' ἀνήνυτον φόβον.

[b] *Eurip. Med. v. 236.*

Where she puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoyes before the Women, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor *Wife* if she be well us'd 'tis true, ξυναρὸς αἰὼν—*no life like here*—νὺ γὰρ, —*but if ill* —δυσμενὴς χρεὼν *there is no remedy but death*, or *she had better be out of the life*. On the other side, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife, or one Husband in all: and what a disparagement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former) [a] *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alcestis*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married againe, though she were dead.

[a] *In Alcest. v. 464.*

Εἰ δ' ἦ γυναικὶ ἄλοιτο πόσις λέχος·
Ἦ μαλ' ἐμοὶ γ' ἂν εἴη σχυδές.

But was it ſo indeed as *Medea* complained, and was the Woman to be miſerable ſtill without any hopes of redreſſe? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if ſhe found the Conjugall yoake too ſtrait, and had a mind to ſlip the Collar, ſhe was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who deputed other Judges to conſider if the cauſe were lawfull, and ſo to give her a Bill of Divorce with this conditition, that ſhe engage her ſelfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands houſe again: and when this was done, ſhe might either have her Portion back again from her Husband, or elſe ſerve him with a Writ ἐφοικὸς ζημίᾳ, or allow her maintenance, and ſo much a Month for uſe, as long as he detained the money.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum ſcleragogia, & ſervilibus miniſteriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckon'd it ſufficient cauſe to complaine, to be put to ſervile employments, I know not, ſuch abuſes as theſe were many times offered. I do not ſo much ſtand upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever [a] *Hecuba* has complain'd of that imployment (but the baſer ſort of ſervices, ſuch as fetching of water upon their heads: which the poor old Maid in the Poët might juſtly make one of the ſaddeſt parts of her ſlaviſh condition,

[a] *Apud Eurip. Troad. v. 293.*

[b] *Id. in Electr. v. 151.*

—πὶ δ' ἀγγος τὴν δ' ἐφ' ἁλὸς πόδα κλῆδα
Φέρουσα πηγὰς πόσιμόν τε σιτοδρέψαι.

It ſeems the Grecian Women their faſhion of carrying water, was the ſame that ours is now; nay and the Roman too: for [c] *Ovid* ſaies of the Veſtall Virgin her ſelf (*Sylvia* I mean, when ſhe went to fetch Water, and ſlept away her Maiden-

[c] *L. 3. Faſt.*

head,

head, a good caveat for all sleepy servants)

Ponitur è summâ fictilis urna Comâ.

And so likewise I did once conjecture that the men amongst them used to carry Water and other things too much in the same manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, because of that which the Poët saies of *Ulysses* his Marriners, when they took in fresh Water in *Sicily*.

—ἀμφὶ δ' αὐχέσι
Τῶν μὲν φόρτας κεκὰ βοείης κεχρημένους
Κρουνοὺς δ' ὑδρηλοὺς—

Now whereas I mention'd only fetching of water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men, for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing beseeming to meddle with any thing within doores, or to such as to know what was done there, πολὺ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πολὺ τὸ τῆς οἰκίας σκοπούμενα αἰσχύνην, ἀφροσύνης. It is *Aristotle's* own *Oeconomicks*, at least χρὴ ἢ δικαιοῦν, though not χρὴ ἢ λέξιν (to use the words of *Tusanus* sometimes professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greek again, that part of the Book which concerns Man and VVife, the Originall being lost, and only a Latine translation of one *Arthetinus* left) And very good reason you will say there is, for *her* to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet *travell* too: which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoan the VVives condition. *If any thing grieve her* (saith he) *she has no more company to make known her griefs unto, then μίαν ψυχὴν, her own poor soul: And whereas they object that the husband goes to Warr, and does this and that, I for my part* saies she

—[a] βροτὸς ἂν, πυρὸς ἀποστάτα
Στῆναι δίκομαι ἂν, μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.

[a] Eurip. in Med. v. 244. & 251.

—Three times to bear a shield
Thrice better do it think, then once to bear a child.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the VVife was wont to be more or lesse, according to her Fathers liberality in her

Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache*, that in this she came *behind* her, though she were otherwise the first Wife: *my Father* (saies she) *sent me hither in a liberall manner.*

a *Eurip. Androm. v. 153.*

a Πολλοῖς σὺν ἐσθλοῖς· ὡς ἐλευθερωθεῖσά μου
Χερὸς λαλοίην· πλὴν σὺ τοῖς οὐκ ὄντ' ἴσθι
Θύραισι πομπεύουσα· τὴν δ' ἔχουσαν χρὴ
Εὐφημεῖν.

With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too: Only you that brought nothing with you must go to doores. And *she that cannot pay, must be sure to pray.* This argument of hers, her waiting maid afterward *bandy'd* back to her again, to put her out of her fear that her Husband would put her away. *For* (saies she) *he did not take you as a Captive, or so,* b σὺν πολλοῖς ἦλθες, *he had something with you.*

b *Ib. v. 872.*

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis.

THE employments most usuall and least dishonourable were seeing things handsome and neat in the house, and providing for the workmen abroad: take in *Electras* own words:

c *Eurip. Electr. v. 75.*

c —τὰν δ' ἔνδοθεν ἁμᾶς χρεὼν
Ἐξεργάζειν, ὑποσύντιν' ἐργάταν &c.

d *I. Poll. l. 7. c. 10.*

or else working at any kind of Lanifice, either at d ξαντικὴ the tozing (shall I say) or the carding of the Wool? or γναφικὴ, when they went to spinne out the νήματα or *staminа*, and διάζευσις (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Woolf; or last of all at ὑφαντικὴ, the Weaving and joyning the νήματα together, with the help of the κέρκις, (the *pecten* or the fley like a comb) and the ἄγναφοι, or the λεῖα, smooth stones (like our smooth lace sticks, that they might not wear) which hung at the end of the threds. The posture in Weaving was more anciently e standing, but at length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine

e *Serv. ad Aen. 8.*

worke

worke, *recta* as the Latines call'd it, down *right* with one thred a crosse and no more; for there was ποικιλικὴ too, and a great deal of variety in some workes, as well as several sorts of workes in the trade; which was the cause why [b] ϛ. in *Euripides* when *Creusa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her owne Weaving, askt her of what sort of making it was. [b] V. 14. 18.

Ποῖον τι, πολλὰ παρδίνων ὑφάσματα.

Unlesse you will confine this ποικίλσις to the Virgins (as you may seem to have cause from the words but now produc'd) and the Wives and Mothers (or their servants for them) to the plainer work. As it is said, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, saies *Festus* the parents among them would make their Children none but *plain Cloaths*, to shew they must use themselves to *plain dealing*. And seeing VVeaving was a worke well beseeming the better sort (as appeares in *Creusa* the daughter of no worse man then *Erictheus* a King of *Athens*, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if she have put it among her complaints in that verse

Αὐτὴ δ' ἐμοχθοῦσα κακλίσι πέπλους.

That she was kept to weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was, rather that she could not be her own Woman, and weave for her selfe, but must be still winning and never wearing, and starve in the Cooks shop. I must tell her thus much from [a] *Aristotle*, if she liv'd in a state of levelling Democracy, though she were a married Woman (as she was but πολυχρόνιος παρθένος) that or any work else would have been thought too much to little purpose. For saies he in such a case, τοῖς ἀφεῖσις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὥσπερ ἀκολάστοις δὲ τῶν ἀσκλάβων. she must be forc'd to do things her selfe for want of Servants, and so there could be no such thing at all as *Gynæconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all. [a] *Pollit. l. 6. c. 343.*

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Oecuria.

NOw the Wives beſides their γυναικωνίτις, (their Bed-chamber ſhall I call it, or their Attiring room, or their Dining-roome, juſt as the men had their ἀνδρῶνες) had their θάλαμοι ἐσώτεροι too, to worke in, as the Virgins had their παρθενῶνες to play in, for I fear me, *vuides chambres ſont dames folles* and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

b 1. Poll. l. 1. c. 8.

c Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 737.

Καὶ παῖς γ' ἐν οἴκοις μὴ μόνη καθέζεται.

That Maids *at home* ſhould not be left alone.

Tis true they were kept from *gadding abroad*. In ſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediatly following the former,

Ὀχυρώμασι παρθενῶνας ἐφρούρουν κλῆθροις

And if their Daughters not yet *ſhut* faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were, in Priſon (for which their ὀπυίειν, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives; when they *ty'd them up?* as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their a Poëts:

a Ariſtoph. in Theſmop.

—ἢ γυναικωνίτιδ' ὡς
Σοφαὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι κλῆθρ' ἔχειν μόχλους
Τηροῦντες ἡμᾶς, κἀν θύραις κύνας μεγίστους
Τρέφουσ' ὅπως μὴ μοιχὸς εἰσέλθῃ κύσας.

—beſides the ſeales
Upon the VVomens Chambers, barres they lay
To make us ſure; nay more, their Maſtive curs
They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of Athens, were ὀπυίειν Houſe-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houſes*, when it was

ſo

so hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which sense you may well take that of the same Poët in *Lysistrate*: χαλεπὴ γυναικῶν ἔξοδος. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were φιλέξοδοι, of a gadding Gossiping humour) they must be sure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικίους κόσμους, all the ornaments that belong'd to the VVomen about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικόκοσμοι (as they call'd them) officers of purpose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was [a] posted up upon a certain plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what do I talk of *going*, when as Fathers and Husbands, were so hard or so jealous, as not to suffer their Wives and Daughters so much as to *look* abroad: or if they were suffer'd by them they should be sure to suffer themselves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maid took up her Mistresse so short, when she went forth at doores in a passion.

a I. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.

b Ἀλλ' εἴσιθ' εἴσω, μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων
Πάροιθε τοῖσδε, μή τιν' ἀνιγνῷ λάβῃς
Πρόσθεν πυλωρῶν τοῖσδ' ὀφωμένην, πίκρον.

b Euripid. in Androm. v. 876.

But, pray, get in, and shew not thus yourself
Before the house, &c.

VVhere, I dare not say, the translator was *Phantastick*, to render φαντάζου, *imagineris*: but what ever he saies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpose. Nay looking out at a window, was almost as bad as looking out at doore; Κἂν ἐν θυρίδι μακρὰν βλέπωσιν (as the VVomen complain in *Thesmophoriaz.*) where you may read more of their grievances) if they did but *peep* out, they would be thought to do it, as other VVomen us'd to do: and to draw in their head again, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet I fear me, some of the Daughters had scarce the liberty to

* Aristoph.

goe out of one room into another: for so it was with *Antigone*, when she went up to the top of the house to view the Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Padagogue* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bringing up of their Children, Maids or Boyes,)

Eurip. Phœniss. v. 88. Ἐπὶ τι μήτερ παῖδ' ἐτάρβησας ἐκλιποῦσ'
Μέδειαν.

VVhether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave*, I know not. I believe they could hardly do it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad: for so I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* saies;

Οὐκ ὄθι θάμβα πῆγα ἑῷ ἐμείνολοι ἔβαινε

The VVomans own private chamber, *Gynæconitis*, *Gynæconites*, or *Gynæcon*, call it what you will) was (saith *Didymus*) δίστεγος two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to climbe up to them: for (to tell you in his words) οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι, ἵνα γυναῖκες ὦσιν πολὺ διαλάμπειν πεποιήκασι τὸν τῶν γυναικείων τόπον. The people of ancient times, built their ᾠῶα their upper Chamber for the nonce. Ὠὰ and ᾠὰ they call'd them then, insomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies close bred up in such a Chamber, is thought by some to be said to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *ovall* fashion of the Roome, or the like signification of the name in the Greek. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a pair of staires, tis not so easie to determine, as it was to get up, for when I call to mind what adoe the *Padagogue* (whom I lastly mention'd) had to help up his pupil by the hand, I am apt to think that κλῖμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the other to the *Gynæcon*, to have been a ladder, and not a staire-case: hear how she cries for help:

Ὄρεγε νυῶ, ὄρεγε χερίαν
Νέα χεῖρ ἀπὸ κλιμάκων
Πόδα θ' ἵχνος ἐπανίσων.

Such a κλῖμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of help; for

Κλίμακα

Καλλιμαχ. Ἀ ὑφήνην κατεβήσατο θῖα Κυδνο.

Now a Woman if she went about any work that requir'd expedition, her fashion was εἰς γόνυ ζώσασθαι, as *Theocritus* saies, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for fear of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in *Hesiod* is called γυνὴ πυρσολόφη, me thinks not so well rendred *nates ornata*, as* *ad nates succincta*, from the *ftcla*, too short to become the modesty of a Woman, or the use of the word among the Latins. I might here take occasion to speak a great deale of their apparrel, and the other many ornaments which they used about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and twenty other sorts of this kind, but because there has been promised a draught thereof from a pen able to do it, I think it better to hold my hands. Besides, I am of *J. Pollux* * his mind in this, that for a good many of those names which we find in Authors, where they speak of this kind of things, ῥᾴδιον τὰς ἰδέας σωσῶσαι, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔτι πανταχοῦ, εἴτε σκοπάζοντες, εἴτε παίζοντες χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, 'tis hard to know what fashion the *things* were of; because it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the *names*.

a Id. 14.

*ἀναστρόφη

L. 5. c. 2.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a man had plow'd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Mœchus manifestarius*, * but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐν ἴῳγῳ (as they call'd it) *in the fact*; it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him, might abuse him as much as he pleas'd: yea & kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, and no doubt, but sometimes he had *hay in his Hornes*.) If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himselfe, he might have him before the *Thesmothetæ*, and cause him to be punished at the

*Plutarch. in Bacchid.

pleasure of the Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, had as little modesty as the crime it selfe. It was called either ἀγνλμὸς, or μεταφόρως *synecdochically* the part for the whole; for having pluckt off the hair of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenal*, *Quosdam machos & mugilis intrat*: Insomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd ἰυπύγος. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publick use of harlots, (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Woman, having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (or the men rather, for *they* were better) she was not onely forbid to go to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire, which other Women wore, it was lawful for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her husband lay with her after, he was branded for "Ατιμος, *a base companion*. On the other side, if the VVomen were forc'd, and openly abus'd. the Adulterers punishment then was no more then a *fine*. And you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the other commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the VVoman; and is so much the more dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that must break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Ægisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I refer you to that practice of *Sejanus*: who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cuncta tentanti* (saies *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had ravisht a young VVoman, (so she were free born) his punishment was a fine, *viz.* a thousand

Drachmæ

*Poll. l. 8. c. 9.

*L. 4. Annal.

b Ifæus pro Pyrrh.

Drachmæ: but then beſides that, he was to marry her too (unleſs it could be made appear ſhe had taken ſomething of him in conſideration) which puts me in mind of a ſtory of the *Meſſenian* in *Pauſanias*, who to compell *Ariſtodemus* to give him his Daughter to wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kil'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worſe then *Virginius*. There was a time when a raviſher of a Virgin was to be ſton'd ſhall I ſay, or preſs'd to death, for they called ſuch a puniſhment λαίνον χτῶν, as ſome upon theſe words of *Homer*,

Λαίνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα κακὸν ἠὲ χ' ἕσσο θώρηκα.

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

THe *Athenians* (saies *Plutarch* in his *Marriage-exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Bazugian*: but yet, saies he, ὁ παλαιτατος ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀγεται ἐπὶ παίδων τικτώσαις, the plowing for Children is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very sutable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greeks of ἀρόω, and Ἄρουρα, and Αὔλαξ, concerning the Women. For as * *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, ὑπολαμβάνουσι φαλλοὶ τὰ γονιδία ἐκ ἐσπερμοῦσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐμβαλλόμενα ἐγγίνεσθαι: as also with the use of the word ἀρᾶν for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠράσθη, & in his *Antigone* ἀράσσω in the same sense. So *Aristaenetus* [a] in one of his Epistles (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἐπ' ἀρότῳ παιδίων. And *Moschus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon Ἔρως Ἀροτήρ. The Latin word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would

* L. 7. c. 17.

[a] L. 1. Ep. 18.

would *Insitor* to the word βλάστη a bud, and βλαστάνειν, so commonly used in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the same sence. Now for a Woman with Child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotle's** advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to go every day a Pilgrimage a certain journey, to do service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἢ ἱλαπχόντων τὸν θεὸν ἢ γυνάζεσθαι πρὸς πηλὸν, and his reason was, that they might not ῥᾳθυμεῖν grow *unlusty* by sitting still, but by this kind of *travelling* prepare their body for a worse, as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercises of wrestling, and coyting, and shooting, and the like, that by this means having confirm'd their own health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας, *wrestle* with the *throwes*. The princip l God whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Εἰλείθυια ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλεύσεως, from her readiness to come to the Woman at a call, or a *crying out*:

——*Aperire partus*[a] *Lenis Elithiia*—

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handyness or *dexterity*, and willingness to perform, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *quoniam putarent facilè Conceptam alvum egerere*, saies *Festus*, and sometimes under the name of *Facilina*.

—*Facilinæ templa Dianæ.*[b]

Either a *face*, because she was painted with a Torch in her hand, (as if she did but *hold the Candle* to it) and so was *Ilithiia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναῖκι ἐν τόκῳ ἡ πᾶσι εἶσιν αἱ ὠδῖνες, (saies *Pausanias in Arcadicis*) because the paines of a Travell are so *hot*: or else from *facilu*, *easie and without difficultie to be worn*.

—*Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.*[c]

being likewise

* *Loco prædict.*

a *Horat. Carm. Sæc.*

b *Sil. Ital.*

c *Ovid. Fast. l.* 2.

likewise for the same reason called by the Greeks ωδυνεῖαι as by *Orpheus*, by whom she is also termed Θλιμμῶν Σωτειρα, and ὠ ἤνων Ἐνόδιγος, and Ὠκυλοχεῖα, because she stood still ready as it were *at the door*, and was alwaies at *hand* to do the work of a *hand-woman* —*tu voto parturientis ades.* Or lastly from *facilis easie, and without pain*, because she gave the woman *facilem partum*, as he saies,

d *Id.*

Ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.

For the same cause, they gave her also the title of Γενίδλος, as the Latines did that of *Genitalis.*

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis.

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was born: *Non esse mirandum, quòd Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abesset*: that it was no wonder, because *Diana* was taken up in helping *Olympia*. And yet this jest (as *dry* as it is) *Plutarch* is so far frō liking, that he saies it was *cold* enough to have extinguisht those flames. Last of all she was also called φωσφόρος, *quasi* ἡ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἀλίσκουσα καὶ βρέφων ἔρως, saies the a *Scholiast*, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name she was most of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*:

a *Aristoph. in Lucist.*

Dicite, tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti:
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

b L. 2. *de Nat. Deor.* c L. 4. *de ling. Lat.*

Now this *Lucina* (saith b *Cicero* was nothing but the Moon: *Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina.* And the Moon being (as *Varro* saith) *nascentiū dux*, was therefore worshipped by the womē in travel, *quod partus maturescant septē aut nonnunquā novem Lunæ cursibus*: or because the Moon by the *filling* and opening moisture of her influence *graviditates & partus afferat, maturitatesq; gignendi*, as the *Orator* said in the same place. If you chance to meet with a *Plural number*, as you have in *Homer* —μογέσκοι βιλήδυιαι, and in *Aristotle*

ſtotle τὰς πρὸ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας, &c. you may take it to be in reference onely to ſeveral names of one and the ſame *Diana*, and in eſpecial manner to thoſe three, *viz.* *Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* aboue ground, and *Proſerpina* beneath, in regard to which the VVomen among the Latins uſed to call her *Diva triformis*, in their prayers at the time of Child bearing,

Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimiſque letho
Diva triformis.

Diana ſhould be a Gentle-woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I ſaid; for that was the ground, or the principal name: all the other names ſeem to be but the deſcant, or ſo many *Epithetes*, and *Surnames* upon it. So in *Euripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

Τὰν δ' ὑλοχον Ὀυρεσίαν
Τὸξων μαϊδνεται
Ἄρτεμιν,

In another Tragedy, Ποθῶ δ' Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν: and

---φασφόρῳ δύπτευν σελᾷ. Ἄρτεμις or *Diana* ſtands ſtill the ſubſtantive, and all the reſt hang like ſo many Adjectives. Beſides theſe to the Moon, they talke of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themſelves, whom they worſhipped by the name of Τεττοπάλους, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* ſay ſome. So many windes ſays one [a] (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables.) But what have women to do with the Wind? it can blow *them* no good, but a *Tympany*: and ſo puff them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Protocreon*; and *Philochorus* ſaies, they were the three firſt men that were begotten. And here I muſt tell you ſomewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to ſacrifice to the Nymphs, and to pray to them then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it *up*. And thus much I conjecture by thoſe words of *Oreſtes*, when one told him that

[a] *Etymol. Dion.*

a *Eurip. Electr. v.6,16.* that he saw *Ægysthus* sacrificing to the Nymphs.

[a]Τοκεῖα παιδῶν, ἢ τροφὰ μόλοι τόκῳ;

For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

CAP. II.

De puerperio, seu fœtu masculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpose for that use I cannot tell, neither durst I conclude as much by the λόχοι δαλαῖοι in [b]*Euripides*, where speaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies,

b *In Bacch. v.96*

[b]Λοχεῖα δ' αὖ πάτερ νιν
Δέξατο δαλαίοις.

At the time of travel, they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a vertue either to *conquer* the pain, (for a Palme branch was a token of *Conquest*) or to make them *bear up* under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palm-branch go downward) according to that of *Theognis*:

—Διὰ τίνα πόνον λιπὼν
Φοίνικος ῥαδινῆς χαίτην ἐραλαίνην.

I do not read that ever before travel they stood in feare of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as St *Austin* saies) suppos'd those Hobgoblins *improbos sæpe extitisse mulieribus, et earum appetisse, ac peregisse concubitū*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Pestle, and another with a Broom, cutting, and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep [a] *Sylvanus* off her: I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their house? (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, saies [a] *Apuleius*, such a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof, Κίονα δόμων, saies *Licophron* of *Hector*, and Τεῦχος ἁμαχον κίονα, saies *Pindar* of the same

c *De Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 22.*

a *Ibid. 6. c. 9.*

L. 10. Met.

ſame, *Iphigenia* her ſelfe, when ſhe dreamt of the fall of a houſe, could interpret the Pillars for ſo many Sons. For ſaies ſhe,

Στύλοι γὰρ οἶκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες.

The Males are Pillars of a family.

And very good reaſon the men ſhould bear the name of the Pillars of the houſe, if the Pillars of the houſe can beare the name and the figures of the men. As they do many of them to this day. *Names* they made choyce of the beſt, ſuch as Ἄτλαντες among the Greeks, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worſt, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibboſi*, according to that in *Martial*

—*Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.*

Beſides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in ſtead of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man.

CAP. III.

De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child as ſoon as it was borne, was waſht in VVater (or elſe in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* faſhion, and deſir'd to *prove*, ſhall I ſay, or to *improve* the ſtrength of the Infant.) Of this waſhing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus, [a] *Plut. in Lycurg.*

Poſtquam peperit pueros, lavare juſſit, nos occapimus.
Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus eſt & multum valet!

And ſo likewiſe in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he ſpeaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her ſiſter, and her ſonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill τὼ πάντας ἢ τὸν ἕνα, the Mother and the Child, he did it ſaies he.

Πεῖν ἐκ λοχείας γὰρ χυτλώσω δρόσῳ.

from which verſe (after I have ſtarted the queſtion how he came to be called *Munippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occaſion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scholiaſt notes upon the word χυτλώσω, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was: and uſed onely for the cleanſing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a χύτλον, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. The reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort, *viz.* ἵνα οἱ πόροι κατὰ θέρμης ἀνεῳγόντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλαίου ἐπιπωματικῆ ὄντος, (as the [a] *Scholiaſt* hath it) to cloſe up the pores againe after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhall have the word χυτλῶσω, ſometimes uſed to ſignifie the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

— ἐπὶ μὴτερ μεγάλων ἀπέδησατο κόλπων
Ἀυτίκα δίζητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ὄφρα τόκοιο
Λύματα χυτλώσαιτο.

a In *Ariſtoph. Plut.*

[b] In allusion to this χύτλωσις [b] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἀχύτλωτον λοχείῳ. For coming from ſo cleane a place as *Jupiters* thigh, he had no great need of waſhing.

b Lib. *Dionyſ.*

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cunabulis, &c.

THE Child being waſhed, it was wrap'd in a cloth Woven for the purpoſe by the Mother in the time of her Virginity; as may be conjectured by that which *Creüſa* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erechtheidæ* wrought the image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva*'s *Aegis*, by the help whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off. Beſides the likeneſſe of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva*'s own command, and in memory of *Erichthonius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcan*'s ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

—ὅθεν Ἐρεχθεΐδαις ἐκεῖθι
Νόμος τις οὗτος, ὄφεσιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις
Τρέφειν τέκνα. *Eurip. in Ion. v.* 25. & 14. 27.

Saies the Poet: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeake of. And yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems, uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Heſperides &c.* & that becauſe of their quickneſs of ſight, according to *Feſtus*: *Dracones dicti ἀπὸ τῦ ὁρᾶν, quod eſt videre: clariſſimâ enim habebant oculorum aciẽ quâ ex cauſâ incubantes eos theſauris cuſtodiæ cauſâ finxerunt.* Being wrap'd in the cloth inſtead of being put in a cradle, it was either lay'd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre: (& thus was *Hercules* himſelf, and the *Lacedæmonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the * *Celtæ* uſed the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*.) or elſe upon a *Vannus or Ventilabrum* * *Strabo l. 7.*

brum quod alimentorum copiæ & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant, saies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De infantis gestatione circa focum, & de nominis impositione.

WHen the child was five dayes old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the house. At the same time the custome was for the Midwives to wash their hands. Now in token of *joy* for having a child the Parents bedecked their house with Garlands: and in *congratulation* the kindred that intended to be at the *naming feast* sent their γενεθλιακὰς δόσεις (as *Aeschylus* cals them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have used to do with us at *Christenings*. The things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepiæ*, whether as rarities, or for what reason, I am yet to seeke. The verses of *Eubulus* cited by *Athenæus* c. 2. speakes as if those things were not kept till the feast, but us'd the same day, as likewise Doves, and Thrushes, and coleworts with oyle, and tosted peices of *Chersonesus-Cheese*, and I know not what: the whole solemnity of the day is called Ἀμφιδρόμια, and so is the *Genius*, or γενέθλιος θεὸς, θεὸς Ἀμφιδρόμιος, from the running about the hearth (which it seems was plac'd in the midst of the roome) or as wee may call it, *Dancing about our cold fire*, for wee read of no more but the hearth: but surely there must be a fire, for *Hesychius* saies, those that carried the child must be naked. The naming feast which I mention'd, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, saies [a] *Aristotle*: and his reason is, because that day was observ'd to be very critical to most things, τὴ γὰρ ἑβδόμῃ ἀναιρεῖται τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐδόλων, and therefore, saies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, *then* they presently gave it a name, ὡς πεπρωμένου μᾶλλον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, as presuming

[a] L. 7. de Hist. An.

it

it would continue ſo. But (with reverence be it ſpoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *night* rather) becauſe the feaſt which they kept was called Ἀμφίδρομια, and thoſe which then ſacrific'd (for that was to be done firſt) were ſaid Ἀμφιδρομίοις θύειν, or Ἀμφιδρομίοις ἐπιθύειν: & at the ſame feaſt (ſaies *Suidas*) where the kindred wont to meet all together, to be witneſſes (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Againe, beſides the authority of a Scholiaſt upon the word Ἀμφίδρομα in *Avibus Ariſtophanis*, I have the plaine teſtimony of the Poët himſelfe in the ſame Comedy in another place; where he brings in *Piſthæterus* thus ſpeaking of Athens, in an alluſion to the cuſtome.

Ὅσοι ἄρτι θύουσι τοῖς Ἀμφιδρομίοις παῖδα ἔχω
Καὶ τὸνομ' οὐκέτι παῖδα νῷν δὲ δίμοιρον.

Now a [a] Father might give what name he pleaſ'd to any of his children: but uſually the eldeſt ſonne was called by the name of the Grandfather. I cannot ſay that they kept this name and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus* when ſhe came to be elder and wiſer, aſſumed the name of *Theonoe*; * thus *Leucippe* when ſhe was bought, was new nam'd *Lacæna*; and *Iſmenias*, *Atraces*, when he became enſlav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Maſters, who preſently gave them new, ſuch as they thought fit. Either from the Country, ὁ Σύρος, or the colour and complexion, as ὁ ξανθίας, or ὁ πυρρίας, or ſome good quality in him, as ὁ πιστὸς, and ὁ φρόνιμος, or elſe from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νεουμηνίας. At Rome the Maſter gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they ſet them free, and ſo a new name was a token of liberty too: or of ſomething better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or ſome other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian* when an Eſtate fell to him,

[a] *Euſtath. in* Il. 5.

Eur. Hel. v. 13.
* *Achil. Tat. l. 5.*
Euſtat. l. 9.

Phoc. Biblio. b. Cod. 279.

See Rev. 2. 17.

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*: and thus they tooke new names when they came to be made Kings; as among the *Persians* &c. or Gods, as every where besides, which appeares in those names of *Palamon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Λυσιζώνης (*Cinxia* you may call her in latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Λιτώαν. Untill she were purified, she was as carefully shund, as any Woman of the Jewes, insomuch that reckoning her among the μιάσματα, they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layen for dead: or if they had happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint; when they came forth againe, they would be sure to wash: whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, Ἀπὸ τε κήδους καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιάσματος παντός: which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*; when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes*, whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she spake her mind so plainly in relation to her curiousnesse, to have no body come neer her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funerall, &c. *I defie* (saies she) *the hypocrisie of that Goddesse what ever she be, that shall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of puritie, forsooth, shall forbid such & such to come neer her Altars:*

a Iphig. in Taur. v. 380.

------ [a] θεσπῶν μὲ μὴ τις ἅψηται φόνου
Ἢ λοχείας, ἢ νεκροῦ θίγῃ χερῶν,
Βωμῶν ἃ σείρει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἡγουμένη.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the Heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth

mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Isle of Delos should by this means be polluted, made a law, that no Woman should lie in for child there, but she must be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Iland neer adjoyning. What day she was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the question put in *Euripides*:

Λέγ' ἡλίκης ἐν δίσπορ' ἀγυιᾶς λαχών.

Whether it were at the time of the πεντηκοστὰ, the feast that was kept at the forty dayes end (for so many dayes she was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐνδεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, when the child was a *tenne night* old, (as we say a seven night, counting nothing but the nights: for I do not think it is the tenth *Month*) I doe not well know: but *Electra* sais it was so,

ἡμέρᾳ σελήνης παιδὸς, ὡς νομίζεται.

Whensoever the time was, the Woman, after she had wash'd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* so called from * thence) she her selfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband to the Nymphes for helping him to such a Wife: or both (if you will) to returne their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls παιδὸς εὐεκμὸν τελεσφορησύνην. It may be in case of weakenesse, or if she were ignorant of rites (as she might be at the first) another did it for her, as *Clytemnestra* did for *Electra* upon her request. But indeed it should be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemnestra* her selfe confessed,

* *Pausan. in Att.*

Ἄλλης τόδ' ἔργον, ἢ σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ τόκων. *Eurip. Electr.* v. 11. 28.

During her lying in, the greatest part of her food was cole-wort.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurſes during the time of ſucking, were called τιτθαὶ (from τιτθὸι the ſame that μαστὸι the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτίζωθαι) τροφοὶ dry Nurſes. Now the cuſtome was for the Nurſes (the better to harden the Children *uſu liberioris* * *auræ*, and to make the Nurſes the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies, and in the ſtreets: and in caſe they ſhould be unquiet, the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of *Ariſtophanes*,

* *Rhodig. ex Plat.*

δὸς μοι χυτρίδιον ἀπαγγέω βεβυσμένον.

Saies they were wont to have a ſponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpoſe. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedemonian* the fitteſt for a Nurſe, (& ſuch a one *Alcibiades* had himſelfe) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were ſo proud, that they counted it a diſparagement to them, to be Nurſes themſelves. And therefore the Woman in *Demoſthenes*, when it was objected to her, that ſhe had ſometimes uſed this baſe imployment, was faine to excuſe it by the neceſſity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And ſo likewiſe you ſhall find *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complaining of her unhappineſſe, that ſhe muſt be forced to ſuch an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lull* a child aſleep, they uſed *lallare* to cry λάλα, or βαυβαλᾶν, to ſing ſongs to it. Their ſongs they called καταβαυκαλήσεις, and ſometimes νύννια. (for ſo is *nænia* uſed in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib. 7. Somno occupari ut poſſint leves audiendæ ſunt nænia,*) ſuch a kind of ſong is that in *Theocritus*.

Εὕδετ' ὠμὰ ζεύγεα γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον,
Εὕδετ' ὠμὰ ψυχά, δὺ ἀδάλφεω, ἰὼσα τέκνα.

Ὄλβιοι

Ὄλβιοι ὑπνάζοιδε ὄλβιοι ἀῶ ἵκοισθ.
Sleep my little soules, &c.

For thus they were wont to ὑπνοποιέιδαι to the child, calling it also sometimes πάππον or παππάριον, or τιτθόν, and the like.

CAP. VIII.

De expositione Infantum.

BUt we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the child either dye of it selfe, or be *exposed* to dy by the Parent. If it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold burial without any fire, or any funeral sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise. As being (in the words of *Juvenal*) *minor igne Rogi*. Which practice is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perswade her not to grieve for the death of her child, saies he, ὑπὲρ ἃν παρεκάθη ὁ πολυπλόκος παιγνιώτης ἐξὶ γὰρ παῖς. The custom of *exposing* children, which the Grecians call ἀπόθεσιν, with the people of ancient times was very usual, it was exercised upon such Children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We *read indeed that *Moses* was used thus, because he was טוֹב or a goodly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *exposed* to the river. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the parent. But at *Sparta*, I read, that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpose called by them Λέσχη appointed to examine every child, whether it were ὑγιὴς καὶ ῥωμαλέον sound, or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Æmilius*, sometimes a sinke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

Sat. 6.

Exod. 7. v. 2.

—*votaque ſæpe*
Ad ſpurcos decepta lacus, Sometimes a deep pit, ſuch as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, ſometimes Woods and deſert places, ſuch as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* ſaies: *& in alta nemora pabulum miſit feris Avidis*— and ſometimes the wide Sea, as *Juſtin* laies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotem ſuũ in mare projici juſſit.* If a child were expoſed any where upon the Land, after they had ſwathed it πῖς σπαργάνοις *faſciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot ſome would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* id *Terence* his *Andria.*

—*verum vidi Cantharum*
Suffarcinatum. As if it were *Suffaſciatum.* Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *ſuffarcinatam*, for as much as *ſuccinctam.* It is ſometimes called ὄσγανον, as by *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, where he ſpeaks of *Oedipus* thus,

—αὐτὸ γενόμενον
Ἐξέθηκας ἐν ὀσγάνῳ—

And ſometimes χύτρα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon the ſame place, whence comes χυτρίζειν *exponere.* What kind of thing that ἀνήνεμος was, wherein *Creuſa* expoſ'd her Baſtard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot ſo well determine. *Euripides* ſaies it was ἄγγος a veſſel, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skin, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

—ἀναπτύξας σκύτος
Ἐλεγεῖον ἀνήνεμον.

Me thinks it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly ſo then *Moſes* תבת can be: for firſt he ſaies there was σκύτος εἱλικτὸν skin or leather, roll'd or folded up, ſuch as ſome of our Cheſts have. 2. It was faſten'd or lock'd of one ſide: ἀνέμους ab ἀνὴ and πίγνυμι, as our trunks are. 3. It was round alſo, and fit to be tumbled as he ſaies,

κἀκπεσὸν εἰς θαλάσσιον

Κοίλης

Κείλυς ὁ ἀγγὸς ὁ ἐυτρόχω κάλαθος.

And for ἄγγος, that will ſerve well enough for any ſuch thing, as well as *vas*, or a *veſſel*. If the child were expoſed on the Water, it was uſually put in a thing made like a baſket, made of oziers, or bulruſhes, dawb'd & clos'd with ſlime and pitch, ſuch as that we read of in * *Exodus*. But though they thus ſet him *out* to the mercy of fortune, they would be ſure to ſet him forth too, in the beſt manner they could, with rings and jewels, and garlands, and many precious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to do as they did to the dead, according to that

* *C.* 2. *v.* 3.

—[a] ὦ τέκνον παρὸν σὸν χλιδῶ
Τίνυμ' ἐξεπάλασ' ὅλιμον, ὡς σωτήριον.

a Eurip. Ion. v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it ſo lying, and would * *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his τροφὰ, or τιθήνεια, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would beſtow the paines, to beſtow the coſt too in the burying, according to that in *Terence*.

Tollere.

Heautont. Act. 3. *Sc.* 1.

—cum exponendam do illi, digito annulum
Detraho, & eum ut unà cum puellâ exponeret
Si moreretur, ne expers partis eſſet de noſtris bonis.

Theſe παίγνια, or *crepundia*, moſt commonly were faſtned about their necks, and were therefore called περιδέραια, as they were likewiſe called γναθίσματα, for they were many times, bottles and bells, and ſuch like toyes (and ſo you muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt ornaments & marks) becauſe they were for another end yet beſides the former, *viz.* ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῶνται (ſaies * one) not to adorne him, but to mark him ſo as to know him again, and to ſet the parents name therein, as we uſe to faſten collars and ſuch like things, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle-bels were faſtned to find him by the noiſe, as we do our Hawkes. For you muſt knovv, every child that vvas expoſed, vvas not expoſed vvith this in-

* Dio Chryſoſt.

tent to be killed (as ſome would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of fear it would be killed, if it were not expoſed (as it was with *Moſes*:) and ſometimes (if it were a Baſtard) they put it out of purpoſe to have ſome body nurſe it, for if ſhe bred it up her ſelfe, every body would know it. Beſides, when they were expoſed with that intent, the parents for the moſt part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous men then ſuch as were expoſed, as might be made appear by ſundry examples. At the beſt, expoſing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Ælian* commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it: and ſo did the Romans too afterward: among whom no expoſed child could be free of the city. And yet *Ariſtotle* could afford to preſcribe it, ἕνα νόμον ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραυτίκα τρέφειν. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Phyſicks*, i.e. his natural affection. Our *putting out* children to Nurſe, many times proves little better then expoſing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in ſecret, and ſecure from an enemy, as *Oreſtes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægyſthus*. And therefore *Sophocles* ſpeaking of his manner of life in his youth calls it ἐννυχίην ἤβην; & ſo you might have called him δύσφρονα πάρεδρον, in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of expoſing. I will proceed to ſpeak of the cuſtoms they uſed in education onely, becauſe their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak a word firſt of the ſeveral ſorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diversitate.

ACcording to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were four sorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰσόμοιρος, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ γαμετῆς, the Son of a married free Woman. 2. Ὁ νόθος, *qui Latinè vocari non potest*, saies * *Quintilian*, the son either of a forreign Woman, or a Concubine; such a Son, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to do with the name, or the kindred of his Father, ὄνομα τοῦ νόθου μὴ εἶναι μετέχειν saies *Aristophanes*:[a] and if the case were thus when the *Mother* was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did?

Πατρὸς γὰρ ἐσμεν, κ' οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νοθαγενεῖς
Μισθὸν δὲ τοῦδε οὐ κεκλήσομαι.

But if the Father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we may believe *Eustathius* upon [b]*Homer* concerning *Teucer*, who was a *nothus* himself) being *well* born he must needs be *lawfully* born, and so he was held in as great esteem as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *consuetudinis Regiæ fuit ut legitimam uxorem non habentes, aliquam licèt captivam tamen pro legitima haberent, ut liberi ex ipsa nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a *portion* onely of a thousand *drachmæ* at the most: * this portion they called τὰ νοθεῖα, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מתנת which † *Abraham* gave to the sonnes of *his* concubines: it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *mina* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes in Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiter's* bastard by *Alcmena* the wife of *Amphytrion*) when *Pistheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus;

* *L. 3. c. 6.*

a *In Avib. Euripid. v. 591.*

b *Il. 8.*

Harpocr.

† *Gen. 25. 6.*

Τὶ δ' ὢν ὁ πατὴρ δώσῳ τὰ χρήματα
Τὰ νοθείᾳ;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law againſt that, But the other reply'd again, and confuted his anſwer, by urging *Solons* Law, which ordered indeed, that the *nothi* ſhould κατανέμειν τῶν χρημάτων, have the eſtate ſhared among them in portions, but it muſt be onely for default of legitimate children, and not otherwiſe. This Law is mentioned by *Demoſthenes* in his ſpeech περὶ Μακάρτατου. Thirdly, Ὁ Σπάρτος an *obſcure* ſon, whoſe Father we know not: in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius*. as if he were nothing but *terræ filius*, riſing out of the ground like the *wind*, or as if he were *begotten of the wind*, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father, like the egges which they call ἀνεμίαι, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In alluſion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* ἀνεμίαν παῖδα, becauſe they fained him to be *born* of *Juno*, but *begot* of the *Wind*, or they knew not whom. 4ly. Ὁ παρθενίας, ὃν τις ἐν ἀδείᾳ τῆς παρθένου νόμῳ συνοικίσας ἀπέκτατο, ſaies Pollux, A Son *born in Wedlock, of a woman with child when ſhe married, whom the Husband took for a Maid.* To theſe may be added, firſt ὁ ἐκγεγραμμένος or ὁ θετὸς, a *ſon* not *begotten*, but *made*, or *adopted*: of whom (it may be) I ſhall ſpeak more anon. Secondly, Ἐλεύθερος *liber*, whoſe father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus, made free*, and thirdly ἐξελεύθερος *ingenuus*, the ſon of ἐλεύθερος. Any ſon begotten by a Father in his old age, or the onely child, or the onely beloved, they uſually called * παλίγνη.

*1. Pol.

CAP.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is said of Greece, that it took the best course in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the world. In so much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of Καλλιτόκος, by way of excellency above the rest. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the same to *Ithaca*, as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Aristophanes* his *Thesmophoriazusæ*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Women, to provide to sacrifice to such and such Gods, among the rest brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ γῇ.

But whether this γῆ here be *Tellus* in general, the Mother and the Nurse of the Creatures, or whether it be only *Tellus Attica, Athens* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the best Nurse of the *best*, I know not, but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, *viz.* that *Erichthonius* the poor expos'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankful acknowledgment of his education in that land, first sacrificed to this Κουροτρόφῳ, and having built an Altar of purpose to her, made a Law that whosoever would sacrifice to any other God, should ταῦτα πρῶτον θύειν, do it to her first. Well let us see a little what their manner of education was. They say the Children were usually taught κολυμβᾶν, νήχεσθαι καὶ γράμματα, *first to swimme and dive, and then to read*; Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade, if able and rich, to Philosophy, Musick, Gymnical exercises, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in case his Father should come to poverty, he was not bound to maintain * him, as otherwise he was. Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater sort in a fruitful manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἀκόλουθοι *Pages*: all such *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were usually called * παῖδες, though I know

* *Plut. in Solon.*

* *Hesych.*

know, πῶλος and σκυμνὸς too, are frequently used by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Castigatione &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and stubborn in committing a fault, the best means the Mother could use to perswade him to leave it, was to shew him her breasts, ὡσεὶ κρείττων ἰκέτευε, saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as the most powerful motive she had. But the Fathers and the Masters took another course with him. If a boy had deserved to be whipt, he should be sure enough of his wages from *them*, for they tyed him fast πρὸς ξύλον, to a *block*, to make him *kiss the post*; or πρὸς σκόλοψ, *to a stake*, or *a pinne*, and so whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it διαπασσαλεύεσθαι, διατανύεσθαι τένοντας, saies he in [a] *Aristophanes*, which is rendred by *Frischlin*, *Distentus affigêre humi*, as if they stretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck & armes, & leggs to pins fastned in the ground for that purpose, to keep him from striving. I know not whether this were the same as they called [b] παιωνίζεσθαι, or ἀνατανύεσθαι. But I think that to have been rather the stretching or pulling off the skinne, onely *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët speaks when he saies, ἐπὶ βύρσαν δὲ τραπέσθαι, from the βύρσα, or the stoole, whereon they stretch him or beat him, as they would askin or a hide. That torture of one of the [c] seaven brethren in the *Maccabees*, pulling his skin off his head, may very well be reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true ἀρετυμπανισμὸν to have been a torture or a rack exercised upon any by Tyrants, rather then a punishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so [d] *Aristotle* in the second book of his Rhetoricks, saies that *Antiphon*

a In Equit.

b Ep. ad Hebr. c. 11. v. 35.

c L. 2. c. 7. v. 7.

d L. 2. c. 8. l. 38.

tiphon the Poët, was used by *Dionysius* the Tyrant And in the sixth* Chapter of the same Book, speaking of the want of all fear, in such as had already suffered the extremity of evils, he instances in those that are thus used; ὥσπερ οἱ ὑπτιμπανιζόμενοι. And so *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cries out upon those flatterers of *Ptolomy*, that even τυμπανιζομένῳ, *when he was thus racking and torturing of men*, durst not open their mouths to dissuade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of τυμπανισμὸς when they would but beat a fellow with clubs, which they called τύμπανα, (if that be not rather the word for the block, upon which they suffered, for the Scholiast on these words of *Aristophanes* in *Pluto*, Ὦ τύμπανα καὶ κύφωνες----- saies both ἀφ' ὧν, *on* which, and ᾧ, *with* which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* ὑπτιμπανιεῖ τὸ παιδίον &c. But to return to the punishment with the *Passalus*, I know the word πάσσαλος in that Poët, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as a Master. For instance, in *Thesmophoriazusæ*, when one kept a great deale of noise, and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a πάσσαλον in his mouth. T. 24.

—ἐμβαλῶ τις
Πάσσαλον ἐν μὴ σιωπᾷ.

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hogs mouth, when they would see whether it had τὴν χαλάζαν, the *Haile*, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poet himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themistius*, under the name of φοινικίδειν in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plagosus Orbilius*; that used to *pay* the poor and fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay *him* no better; saies he, πωλάδια δεσμῷ φοινικίδειν, &c. And so *Prometheus*, whom

the Gods tyed to *Caucasus*-hill for ſtealing fire, is ſaid by *Menander*, to have been προσπαπαλαδυνᾶσθαι, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

Εἶτ' ἀ δικαίως προσπαπαλαδυνᾶσθαι
Γράφουσι τ Προμηθέα πρὸς τ πέτρας.

Where he prettily pleads his cauſe, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for ſo ſmall a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For firſt, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to do it, unleſſe it were found in the act of adultery) any one might ſell his child when he [a] pleaſed. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might ἀποκηρύξαι τ υἱόν, [b] *abdicare filium ſuum*, turn him out of doors. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cauſe, and then the Κήρυξ, or the Cryer went about, and cryed that ἀ δῶνε, ſuch a one did deny τὸν δῶνα, ſuch a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus uſed, was ſaid ἐκπίπλειν τῦ γένους, to be rejected out of the Family, and was called ἀποκήρυκτος. If he were received into favour again, he was ſaid ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος, to be taken into the family again: and then he could never be abdicated any more,

a *Plut. in Sol.*
b *Lucian.*
πρὸς βοίωτον.
* *Demoſthenes:*

CAP. XII.

De aſcriptione in Φρατρίαν.

THe Sonnes when they came to be three yeares old at the ſooneſt, and ſeven at the lateſt, were carried by their Fathers to the φράτορες, and regiſtred in the Tribe. But before they could be regiſtred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithſtanding the Oathes, thoſe heads of the Tribe if they liſted, might queſtion the matter, and put them to a ſuit in * Law. The time on which this was uſually done, was the third day of the Feaſt Ἀπατούρια. Which was ſo called, either according

* Demoſt. καὶ Μαχάρ.

ding to the Etymological dictionary, becauſe the ſons which before might be thought ἀπάτορες εἶναι, to have *no Father*, did now make it appear, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, becauſe at that feaſt, ὅτε πατέρες καὶ οἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνοδον ἐποιοῦντο πάντες, the fathers met altogether: and ſo it muſt be call'd Ἀπατούρια, in that manner as a wife is call'd, ἄλοχος, for ὁμάλοκος; or ἀκουσις, for Οὐάκουσις: where A is ἀστατικὸν, & not a privative; as likewiſe in ἄπνους, and many other ſuch words. The third day of the feaſt was called by the name of Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τοῦ κείρεσθαι, as who would ſay a *Shearing-feaſt*: becauſe at that time they uſed to *cut their haire*. The hair which they cut, they called θαλλὸν, or πλόκιον, or τριττύειον πλόκαμον, in oppoſition to πενθικὸν, that which they cut at a funeral. This *lock* (as I think it was) they had nouriſhed of purpoſe till that time, and conſecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appear by the practice of *Bacchus* himſelfe: for when *Penthеus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing elſe to diſſwade him, but to tell him it was *ſacred*, (like the lock of the * *Nazarites.*)

L. 1. Hom.

Num. c. 6. v. 5.

a Ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

a *Euripi. in Bacch.* 494.

And thus *Theſeus* is ſaid to have conſecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The hair thus cut, becauſe it was the firſt time that ever they cut it, and becauſe it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμας ἀπαρχὰς, *the firſt fruits* of the haire, (for the word both Engliſh, Greek, and Hebrew, is appliable to any thing that is firſt.) Such firſt fruits of his Beard b *Nero* put into a Golden boxe, which he adorned with pretious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol.

b *Sueton. c.* 12. *ejus vitæ.*

If the children were of a noble bloud, they would go as far as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, ſome to one God, and ſome to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were Gods enough of conſcience) at *Rome*, beſide *Apollo*, whom ſtill one or other was careful to ſupply (notwithſtanding his own *Intonſum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

Hos tibi, Phœbe, vovet totos a vertice crines. *Martial.*

Æsculapius was remembred too. For *Statius* speaks of one *Earinus*, that sent his hair to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beset with Jewels, and a looking glasse besides,

Mar. Ep. 9.

----*dulcisque capillos*,
Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.

How was it then that the Vestal Virgins hung up theirs upon a *Tree*: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris?* The Nuns the Vestal virgins of these times have no such need, they have Gods and Saints enough, and to one of them they bestow a *love lock* for *entrance*, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registring in the Tribe-book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen years old, and the enrolling of them into the Λυξιάρχειον γραμματεῖον at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias in Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen yeares old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus upon Plato's Timæus*, saies, that when they went to be registred, they were τριετεῖς ἢ τετραετεῖς, three or four yeares old, and there is my authority. 2ly. *Cnemon in Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been sooner then at fifteen yeares old: and there is my example. 3ly, It is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Registring they offered up the *first-fruits* of their haire: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quid novisti rectius &c.* It is all one to me.

CAP.

CAP. XIII.

De ascriptione in Epheborum censum, et in album Lexiarchicũ.

WHen they came to be eighteen years old, εἰσήτεσαν εἰς ἡβήσας, they were listed among the number of those that were ἔφηβοι *puberes*. And to this purpose they had certain Officers appointed to search them to see whether they were so or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they called it) φρουρεῖν τὴν ἐν πόλει, to keep Guard, or doe service in the City, (of which hereafter.) This search or examination was calld δοκιμασία. If they were found to be *puberes*, sound wind and limb, and like to prove Souldiers; they were led into the Temple of *Argulus*, where they took a solemn oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the Gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon Κυρεωνὶς too, and that may be the occasion of the difference I lately spake of. Neither were these later rites performed without cutting of hair too. But commonly the fashion was, either then, or at any other time but the first, to consecrate their hair, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, especially such as belonged to the Country they lived in τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ποταμοῖς. Thus much may be gathered from [b] *Pe-leus* his *vow* to consecrate his hair to the River *Sperchius*, if *Achilles* returned in safety: and [c] *Memnons* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: so (as [*] *Paul* shaved his haire at *Cenchrea*, upon the like occasion,) The Nazarites, when *they* cut their *hair of consecration*, were to make use of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongst the Greeks the custome of paying tribute for their hair, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cause of life and growth) was very usuall both in men & women, especially in times of mourning, when they cut it most. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where she bemoans the condition of the poor

[a] *Schol. in Hom. Il. ψ.*

[b] *Pausanias Att.*

[c] *Philostr.*

[*] *Act. 18. 18.*

Num. c. 3.

poor *Trojans*, and the ſad fruits of the Warre, ſpeaks of ſuch a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamander*.

a *Eurip. Helen. v.* 372.

Ἀπὸ δ' παρθένοι κόμας
Ἔδεντο συγγενοῦσι νεκρῶν
Σκαμάνδειον ἀμφὶ ῥεῦμον ὕδωρ.

Unleſſe you had rather think it was done (according to the cuſtome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I ſhould have told you that before they cut their haire, (I mean when they went out *Ephebi*) they firſt took a veſſel of Wine (μέτρον οἶνον, ſaies *Heſychius*) and having conſecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there preſent. This ceremony, they called τὰ ὀπισθόεια from the Wine. And here it may not be amiſſe, to mention the diſtinction, which you ſhall find in the Poets of two ſeveral waies of cutting of their hair, in uſe among the Greeks. The one was κῆρος, when they did but pare their haire, as they would do the borders in a *garden*: the other called σιδήριον, when they ſhaved it ſo cloſe to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a Skiffe, or a boat. When they came to be two years *puberes*, ὁπλίτας ἤδη ὄντας, (as *Demoſthenes* calls it) or twenty years old; εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγεγράφθαι they were *nroti men*, or they became *ſui juris*, and their names were regiſtred by the *Demarchus* in his Ληξιαρχικὸν λεύκωμα, *in Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all thoſe that belonged to his *Demus*. It had this name παρὰ τὸ λήξεως, (or κλήρου) ἄρχειν, becauſe as ſoon as any ones name was written therein, he might be *maſter* of an eſtate *himſelfe* if he had it. Beſides this book, there was πίναξ πύξινος a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to ſet down of what *Demus* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were uot wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepſion*.

CAP.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHen the Father came to *age*, or *neceſſity*, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him (unleſs he were a *nothus*, or had not been bred up to a *calling*) he might be ſerved with a Writ τῆς κακώσεως τῶν γονέων; and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both ſacred and civil; and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not onely to his Parents, but to any friend elſe, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ θρεπτήρια, and θρεπτήνεια, or τροφεῖα, in Latine *Alimenta*. This debt they reckon'd themſelves ſo ſtrongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing ſo much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad.* Σ.

—ὁ δ' ἔτοκῆας
Θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε μινυνθάδιός περ ἐόντι
Ἔπλετ'.—rendred by *Val.* [a] *Flaccus* thus.

a L. 6.

—*nec reddita charo*
Nutrimenta patri brevibus præreptus in annis.

Inſomuch that the Parent might very well ſay to his children [b] *Non eſt beneficium quod poſcetis, ſed factum quod negatis.* And indeed I muſt needs ſay thus much for them, I have found them for the moſt part, very careful to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in uſe among them, *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home again, the Daughters themſelves, preſently fell to waſhing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ὅτως ἀπαλύνωσι τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ſaith the Scholiaſt, inſomuch that *Euphron* (ſaith he) thought that *Homer* had uſed the Epithete

b *Quintil. decl.* 6.

a *In Ariſtoph. Veſp.*

Epithete λιπαρεῖς for the feet, in alluſion to this anointing, (it may be) they uſed to kiſſe them too (as *ſhee* did the feet of our Saviour) for ſo ſaith he of his Daughter in *Ariſtophanes*.

Eurip. Med. v. 133.

—ᾗ φῶτα μὴ ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀπαίζῃ, καὶ πρὸς' ἁλείφῃ καὶ φροκώμασα γείλησῃ.

For the Children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροβοσκεῖν, and ſo *Medea* uſes the word to her children at parting.

—εἶχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν υἱοῖν γηροβοσκήσειν τ' ἐμέ.

Next to the charges of *maintaining* the parent when he is *old*, are thoſe of *burying* him, when he is *dead*; and thoſe to be born by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay down that life in *his* roome, which being then very old, he muſt ſhortly leave in his *own*; *Well* (ſaies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, & you for your part, are not like to have any more ſons now:*

a Idem in Alceſt. v.664.

a Οἱ γηροβοσκήσοντες καὶ θανόντα σε
Πέπλοισι, καὶ στρώσουσι νεκρὸν:

That will you *feed*, and ſhrowd your head,
And *Lay you forth* when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man ſo neer his end: we will ſhew him what courſe he is to take for the diſpoſing of his eſtate, only becauſe if he ſhould have no children at all or none ſuch as they ſhould be, there might be a doubt what to do; I will ſpeak a word of that firſt.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, teſtamento, & hæreditate.

Iſæ. de Ariſtarch.

IF a man had either no child at all, or none that was γνήσιος, *free born*, he had power *to adopt him a *nothus*

or

or any one elſe. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of the Magiſtrate, as their Wills were wont to be. Whoſoever was thus adopted, muſt firſt be made free of the City, and then be aſcrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this laſt was to be done upon the feaſt of Θαργήλια in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his *old* Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to return to it againe, till he had begotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans eſtate it paſſed to another, either κατὰ γένος *by deſcent*, or κατὰ διαθήκην, *by vertue of a will*. Now by *Solons* laws (for before their eſtate, could not be convey'd but to thoſe of the kindred) a man might make any body his heire, of any eſtate that he had which was not in controverſie: but with theſe ſix qualifications. Firſt he himſelfe muſt be no foole nor Mad-man. 2. No priſoner, ſo as to make his will againſt his will: for then it could be no Will. 3. No ſtranger: for then his eſtate went to the common treaſure. 4. No adopted man: for ſuch a ones eſtate if he wanted a child, was to paſs to the *next of the Adopters kindred. 5. Not perſwaded thereunto by his Wife: for ſuch a one (ſaies my* Author) μαλαγωγὸν ἀνδρίον, *is little better then a mad-man.* 6. Not having a male child of his own; for then the inheritance ſhould goe to him. And if there were more males then one, they were to be ἰσοψηφοι, *copartners*, or *joynt-tenants*. But in caſe he had no male child at all, and died without a Will, the eſtate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not γνήσιοι, *free-born and legitimate*: the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or αὐτοκληρονόμος, ſole heire. And therefore *he* in *Ariſtophanes Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not poſſibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Jupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate ſons:

Demoſt.

Demoſt. ad Leothar.

Id cont. Olympiodorum.

—πῶς ἂν ποτε
Ἐπίκληρος υἱὸς Ἀθηναίου δοκεῖ

Οὗτοι θυγατέρ' ὃν τῶν ἀγχιστέων γημοῖεν.

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond μέδιμνον κριθῶν, six bushels, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barly. He to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretor: which thing they called κλῆρον ἢ κλῆσιν, or ὑπομνησθῆναι τὸν κλήρου. And if any one would παραπολέσαι, lay in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amp'est manner; onely first, I will satisfie him of the necessity of having a burial.

Isæus de Astyarch.

Demost. contr. Stephan.

CAP. XVI.

De necessitate sepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in *his Topicks*, divides justice into three kinds, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem:* of the second kind of justice *viz. to the dead*, I do find every where among the ancients so religious a care, and such sacred esteemes of a *buriall*, that sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funeral acknowledged and called to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the Latins. Insomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcase of another, whosoever it were, he should be bound to cast earth upon it three times together, and give it a mouthful of Turse,

Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 5. *c.* 14.

—*Capiti inhumato*
Particulam dare.—

a Horace l. 1. *Od.* 28.

The Romans (it seems by *Quintilian. Declam.* 5. observed this

this custome exceeding well, for (saies he) *Ignotis cadaveribus humum congerimus, & insepultum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit, ut non quantulocunq; vemretur aggestu.* And if any one omitted the duty, he must make satisfaction by sacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam* **præcidaneam* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther: ἢ νέκυν ὁρῶντες ἄταφον καὶ μὴ ἐπαμησάμενοι κόνιν ἐναγεῖς εἶδ' ἐδόκουν. Whosoever saw a dead body, & did not turn up the dust upon it, was not onely a breaker of the Law, but ἐναγὴς, a *scelus*, an *accurst devoted fellow*, *anathema*, (for what should the body do any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὰ ἄταφα, μιάσματα, saies the Scholiast upon * *Euripides*, and πολὺ κατάχθονίους θεοὺς μὴ ἰδεῖν εἶδ', very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to thē were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongst them, then ἐπιπόνως χθονὸς, that *he might not be covered with the Earth*. Me thinkes I see **Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles* as he was ready to stab him; and * *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (befor he fell upon his sword) earnestly beseeching them not to suffer their bodies, when their soules were removed to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the dogges and the birds*. Hence surely it was, that the ancients stood so much in fear of a death upon the sea; or a shipwrack because of death: for there they could never be interred.

* Festus c. 14.

* In Helen.

* Homer. Sophoc.

Demite naufragium, & mors mihi munus erit.

saies *Ovid*. Insomuch that when they went to Sea, or at least when they feared to be *cast away* (as we call it it, for there if the Soul be gone, we have lost the body too) their custome was to fasten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that should find it, and bury it, it were cast a shore. φέρων δὲ πολὺ ἐπίχθιον τὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ νεκρὸν, ὁ μὲν τυχὼν καὶ παράπλους γένηται ἀδρανείᾳ καὶ ἀπλοίᾳ, μὴ ἐχὶ ἰκτῖνί τι μέρος ἀποδιδοὺς τοῦ χειμαζομένου πολυπλάνου; saies *Synesius* in one

of his Epistles. Moreover not onely if a corps were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as soon as possibly it could, it was counted μήτιμά τι τῦ νεκρῦ, as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it αἴλογμά τι τῦ νεκρῦ, that they had done them a pleasure. You have those two words used by the Scholiast, upon the saying of *Homer. Iliad.7.*

—ἔνθεν κε θάνων πυρὸς μειλίσσιον ἔλθοι.

Alex. ab Alex. l. 3. c. 7.

Patroclus is said to have been angry with *Achilles* for such a delay, and how true it is which one saies, that the bodies were kept fourteen daies and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I do not yet find.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocandâ animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUt next to the happinesse of *being buried*, was that of being *buried in their own Country*. Insomuch that if a Man died so farre from home, that they could not come to the *body*, they were wont with solemne and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, τριακλήσαι τῷ ψυχῷ. —*manes ter voce vocare* (as I may say) *to give a hallow for the Soule*: which they thought was still *quick* enough to come to *thẽ*. [a] *Pindar* saies, that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Colchis*, desir'd *Pelias* to see this office perform'd for him

[a] *In Pyth. Od. 4.*

—κέλευθον
Ψυχαῖν κομίξαι ἐρίφῳ—

And so *Ulysses*, after he had lost threescore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, presently made it his businesse (saies *Homer*) —τρὶς ἕκαστον αὖσαι: *to give a whoop for every one three times.* As *Theocritus* saies of *Hylas*, τρὶς δὲ νιν αὖσαι. In *Virgil* he is named but twice,

Il. 13. Eclog. 6.

---Hylam nauta quo fonte relictum
Clamassent: ut listus Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret:

Doubt-

Doubtlesse they would have been glad, to believe their *bodies* also might be rolled under ground, into their native Country, as some of the *Iewes* do think theirs shall into the land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themselves, it could be to little purpose. For as I remember, one in *Aristophanes's Ranis* saies concerning the dead.

Οἷς οὐδ' τελεῖς λέγοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι.

They are gone so far ὅιχονται (ὶ χέσθαι *to go* is used also for *to dye*, we say a man is *dead, and gone*) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But must this be all? can there be no way else to honour the man, unless you can finger the carcass? yes, he shall be kept safe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a Monument they called Κενοτάφιον: and to bury a man thus in *effigie* (as I may say) κενοθαφῆν, as in *Euripides.*

Ὃν γωμβαλεῖς πῶς οὐδ' ὑπὸν τα κενοταφῆ. *Helen. v.1562.*

The Scholiast upon the same Poët in *Hecuba*, gives a full testimony of the custome, saying that, Ἐιώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς ἐνταῦθα τὰ καταθώματα, κἂν ἐν ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ τεθάνῃ, χώσαι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῶν ἀνύμνησις, *though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave.* *Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphion* Κυνήριον, from νεῖον a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Æneas* made for his Father. —b*Tumulum Rhœteo in littore inanem* b *Virg. Æn. 6.*

Constituit— c*Progne* for *Philomela.* c *Ovid. l.6. fab. 8.*

—*& inane Sepulchrum.*

Constituit.— The *Pythagoreans* for those *qui à Philosophiâ suâ desciviſſent*, (accounting them *as bad as* departed out of the life, that had departed from their *principles*) The *Athenians* for all those that died upon the Sea.

Ὃς δ' ἐνύδρια θ' ἁλίεσσι κεῖνο πάθῃ

Θάλῃ— saies the Poet concerning *Helena's* husband. Tis worth your labour to read the story, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a suit of clothes in a

beere, as if his body were there, and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drown it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed between *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τίδ' ἐς ἀόν που τύμβον; ἢ δάφνης χαλᾷ;

Hel. Ἑλλὰς ὅδε νόμος ὅστις πόντῳ δάπτει.

Theoc. Τί δ' ἄρ', ὅπου τις πολεμίαν τὰ παιδὸς.

Hel. Κενοῦσι πέπλοις ὑδρίαν σώματι.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an *empty* beer, in pompe, and a burial, in the *Geramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the statelieſt manner that might be. For with this provision for his burial, he in **Aristophanes* comforted himself and his friend ὁ κυφομηδὴς λέξατω. what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every where as * *Ovid* saies. *Et sæpe in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi.*

* In avibus.

* L. 11. fab. 10.

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri solebant.

THe customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end, *viz.* Violent, and Natural. And first of the customes used in a violent death. If the man had kill'd himself (αὐτοχειρ) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the rest of the body. So saies *Cæl. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In diing or (falling down) Men and Women, but especiallly the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but εὐσχήμονας ποεῖν as *Euripides* saies of *Polyxena*. If *another* killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it justly and in a good cause, though he washed his hands after it (as they would do after killing any other Creature) yet he used to take

take the ſword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the bloud on it, σύμβολον τὸ δικαίως πεπρᾶχθαι, (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*) to ſhew that he fear'd not if heaven were witneſſe, & all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjuſtly, inſteed of *ſhewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the hair of the party ſlaine: ἀπο-σπογγιζόμενος τὸ μύσος ἐν τῇ θρὶξ (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, *and wipe away* the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ὁμογνίου and συγγενοῦς (as he ſaies) i. e. *if the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred:* he could never wipe it ſo cleane, but ſome would ſtick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided amulets and ſpells to keep them off. And what better thing then a part of the body it ſelfe? for having that in their power as a hoſtage, to do what they would with it, the Ghoſt of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or elſe would ſpare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as ſoon as they had ſlain him, they cut off all the *extreme* or *outmoſt parts* of the outmoſt members, and ſewing them, or tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. The *extremities* thus uſed they call'd ἀκρωτήρια, and ſo to uſe the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, ſo as they call'd it likewiſe, if they did but cut the *tops* of the *eares* when a man had committed a fault, ſaies the *Etymological Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λοβᾶτος, from λοβὸς the lap of the eare. Though that word, and λυμαίνεσθαι, be alſo uſed for as bad uſage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν: unleſs you will ſay this was properly ſaid to be done, when they killed the party quite. Thoſe ἀκρωτήρια, are ſometimes called ἀναθήματα or ἀξιώματα, as in * *Apollonius*, where he ſpeaks of *Abſyrtus* his being thus uſed by his ſiſter *Medea*. *Soph. in Electra.*

Ἠμὲν δ' Αἰσονίδης ἀξιώματα τῆλε δαΐφρων
Βάλλε κασιγνήτοιο δολοπλοκίας ἰαλέσθαι. L. 4.

And ſometimes μαχαίσματα ſrõ μαχαιρίζειν, the ſame that ἀκρωτηριάζειν; becauſe oftimes they hung thoſe pieces of the body

ὑ μασχάλαν to their armeholes, of which *Sophocles* ſpeaks thus,

Τὸ δ' ἐς δεινὸν ἅπαξ ἔτι δυσμενὲς

Ἐμασχαλίσθη.

But if he had kill'd the man by treachery, he hung thoſe pieces about his *neck*, and taking ſome of the bloud, ſpit three times in his mouth. This faſhion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noſes, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in uſe likewiſe among the Romans: not onely upon men *ſlain*, as *Quintilian* ſaies, *truncas partibus ſuis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil. Æn.* 6.

Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manuſque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares.

C. 1. v. 7. That practice of *Adonibezeks*, which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *Acroteriaſmus*, as this was.

The uſual puniſhments to be ſuffered by him that had kill'd another were theſe. If he had done it unwillingly, he muſt fly his own Country, and get into another, (as the Iſraelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*.) Being there, he muſt betake himſelf (ſaith the Scholiaſt) εἰς τινὸς ἱκέτην ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου, into ſome great mans houſe that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an ἱκέτης, or Petitioner) and there ſet him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) καθαρσίου λύτρου, to expiate the fact, and purge himſelf of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred, he muſt tarry out of his Countrey a whole year at the leaſt. *Euſtathius* ſaies antiently they ſuffered them ſometimes to redeem their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe: Inſomuch that a Murtherer was not onely forbid χθονὸς νέμειν, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *to participate in their Sacrifices himſelfe*. But every Body elſe (of his own Country was forbid to receive him into his houſe. Nay

Joſhua c. 20.

* *On Homer. Il. O.*

* *Schol. in Eurip. Hippol.*

a *lib.* 18.

the

they might not be allowed to *speak* to him: as thinking him ἀνόσιον τοῦτο, οὕτω so unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* saies ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὐ τὸν καλῶ. The Scholiast upon *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, saies, that among the *Thessali*, they used to drag him about the grave, where the party was buried whom he had slain; as *Euriaamus* did *Symon* for killing his brother *Thrasymus*. Il. X.

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulsandis aeneis vasis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the Custome among the Greeks, as well as among the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a dying, or his Sun was a setting, as they used to say, -----ἥλιον ἄμμι δύντα to have his eyes closed by the Parents, or the next of the kindred: and they call'd it συγκλεισιν τῶν ὀμμάτων. The performing of this ceremony by the *Kindred*, was so much valued, that it was bewail'd as a very great unhappinesse, to dye in such a place where a mans friends could not be present to do it: as *Ulysses* saies. *Theocr.* Il. O.

-----ἐ δέ τοί γε πατὴρ γηρύετο μάλα
Ὅς τε καθαιρήσειε δυσόμενον -----

If a *man* died suddainly, ἀπέχετο (saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*; if a *Woman* to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, that just at the time of death, they had a custome likewise to make a great *ringing* with *vessels of brass*, (*Bells*, some render it) to fright away the Hobgoblings, and Furies from the Soul. For such a kind of sound (he saies) is ἰδιάζοις ἡ ἀπλαστὸς πρὸς ψαυσμάτων of a special virtue for such effects. But else I should rather imagine it to have been done for the same end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but Il. Π.

dead asleep (not *dead and gone*) and so to awake him with the noyse, as they were wont to do to the Moon in an Eclypse, when they thought her asleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids, the face was next cover'd with a cloath: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hyppolitus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

Eur. Hipp. v. 248. Κρύψον δέ μ' ὡς τάχιστα τοῦτο σὸν πρέπει.

And indeed the whole business of stretching out and shrowding the body, belonged especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better than that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies, That *they*, having the happiness to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

Χερσὶν φιλίαις πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐκτὸς:

Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin. If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the children did it. And so *Medea* tels her Children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her self.

Eur. Med. v. 1036. Καὶ κατθανοῦσαν χερσὶν ἂν φίλαις νέκυν.

If the Husband died, the Wife did it. Which happiness the Greek Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at Troy.

Troad. v. 277. — ὃ δάμαρτ' ἐν χεροῖν

Πύλαις συναλλύσαν.

If a brother, the sister. Which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully.

Id. Iphig. in Taur. Φεῦ. πῶς ἂν μ' ἀδελφὰς χὰρ φίλαι στείλειαν ἄν.

A jack! how shall my Sister shrowd me now?

CAP. XX.

De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

THe body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, *sacred*. those that are dead are called *ἱεροὶ* by [a] *Plutarch*, & the

[a] *In vita Numa.*

the graves themſelves ἁγνὰ ἠεία by *Lychophron*, as ſoon as the body was in. *Sacred* I ſay, that is not to be injured, far enough from *holy*, inſomuch that if a man had but toucht it, νικρῷ δ' ἅγνα χέρσιν (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had waſhed, as πυγμῇ, as a Jew: *Toucht* did I ſay? when *Hyppolitus* lay a dying, *Diana* would not ſo much as ſtay and *ſee* him dead, for fear of pollution.

Καὶ χεῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ θάμνος ἁγνὸν ἐξέχει,
Οὐδ' ὄμμα χρείσσον θανασίμοισιν ἐκπονεῖς.

The ſame may be ſaid of the graves δυσφάμοτο τάφου, ſaies *Heſiod*; for ἁγνὰ they were not, but only in this ſenſe, that they were ἀκίνητα, not to be medled with, as ſome would have it to be meant by that of the ſame Poet,

Μηδ' ὧν ἀκινήτοισι κεύθεται — *Eur. Hipp.* 1437.

Inſomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Queſt.* ſaies, that thoſe men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funeral pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of ἁγνοὶ themſelves. The whole performance of the ceremonies which uſed to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Æſchylus*) ξυγκομιδή, as the *elation* or carrying forth, was called ἐκκομιδή. The ceremonies were theſe. Firſt they took a piece of money above a half-penny ('twas dearer there than at *Rome*) and put it into his mouth to *ſpeak* his *fare* to the πορθμεύς, or Ferriman, *Charon*: the piece of mony was called by the name of ὀβολὸς, becauſe it was given τοῖς ὀβοῖς: which ſignifies the *dead*, from ὀβὸς *dry*, becauſe of their *dry bones*. I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite;

— παρὰ τὸν Ἄνυτον λίθον) ſaies that there was a ſtone which the Poet fain'd to be ἐν ᾅδου, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Anaeus* παρὰ τὸ ἄνυς τοὺς νεκροὺς εἶ, *becauſe the bodies of the dead muſt needs be as dry as duſt*.

Together with the money, they threw in a morſel of pud-

ding or paſt, or Cheeſe, to give to *Cerberus* to ſtop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was uſually made of flower temper'd with honey (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly μελιττοῦτα, and μελιττοῦτὶ μελιττετὶ εἰδίδοτο τοῖς νεκρικῆς οὖσις ἢ Κέρβερον, ſaies *Suidas*, ſuch a kind of thing *Æneas* is ſaid to have given him, when he viſited the dead.

Æn. 6.
Met. l. 6.

M. lle ſaporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit.

Apuleius ſpeaks of more pieces then one, *offas polentæ mulſo concretas*: & ſaies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in* *Luſiſtrate* us'd it but in the ſingular number,

* *Ariſtophan.*

------σοφὸν ὠνήσει
Μελιττοῦτα ἐγὼ κἀδὴ μαξάμα.

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtome in thoſe words of his in *Pace*.

ἔπ' ἀλφιτ' ὄντ' τοῦτον οἷς ἀπολύεθρος.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

IF the party deceaſed were free of the City, the κατατιθέντες (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowels, and with heated water, which they put into a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body: as thoſe *did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper room*. This λοῦτρα παντάλια (as *Electra* call'd it in the poet) was a thing accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in *Plato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health, thought it beſt to ſet about it himſelf aforehand, and ſave the Women a labour: Ὅσα τεχνάζει μοι τὸ λοῦτρον, ἵνα μὴ βέλτιον ᾖ τὸν λουσάμενον πρὶν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πράγματα ἔχωμεν γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*, when ſhe intended to die for her Husband. Saies the Poet

* *Acts c. 9. v. 37.*
Eurip. v. 157. Electra.
a la Phædone.

Poet [b] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤσθετ' ἡμέραν τ' ἀκμαίαν
Ἥκουσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χρόα
Ἐλούσατ'.

When she perceiv'd the day appointed near,
She wash'd her self in river water clear.

[b] *Eurip. Alc. v.* 116.

In alluſion to this cuſtome *Iphigenia* in her dream, fell a waſhing one of the pillars of the ruined houſe, when ſhe fancied to ſee. *apud Eurip.

Τὸ δρᾶγμα αὐτὸν ὡς θανούμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Son, and concluding the death of that ſon by the waſhing of the Pillar. To this waſhing, (it may be) alludes that expreſſion of *Strepſiades* to his ſon in *Ariſtophanis nubibus.*

Ὡς σὲ τὸν τρόπον κατακλύει μου τὸν βίον.

He caſteth aſperſions upon my life, & waſheth me as if I were dead.

This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in caſe of neceſſity others might ſerve. And therefore in [c] *Galen* you ſhall find the *Cynicks* themſelves a waſhing poor *Theagenes*, because he had neither wife, nor child, nor chick of his own to do it. Having waſhed the body, they anointed it with ointments, & poured *Ambroſia* upon his head and face, as *Homer* ſaies, *Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*, [c] *de Method. Medendi. l.* 13. *c.* 15.

Il. 11.

Χρῖσαν τ' ἀμβροσίῃ----

Having done this, they wrapt the body in a fine garment, woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or ſome other friend for the purpoſe: having alſo τὰς λωρία, bands or liſts of cloth, to tye the hands and the feet withall, ſuch as *Lazarus had. *Feralibus amiculis obſtrictus*, ſaies *Apuleius. The colour of the Shrowd (if my memory faile not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latines. Homer. Odyſſ. 2. *John c. 11. v. 44. *Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII:

De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur, de lecto, & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloth'd him with his Winding-sheet, and his πίτυλα: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐστέφετο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὁ στέφανος, ὡς τὸν βίον δηλωσιμένοις, saies *Suidas*, *as they would do to one that had run out his race, or fought it out*: and with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, *Eustathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Son, makes him say, πῶς σε καταστεφανόω τοῖς δάκρυσιν; *how shall I crown thee with my tears?* an example of this practise, you may see in *Euripides*: where *Talthybius* speaks to *Hecuba* to do it to *Astyanax*, in the the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. *Ism.*

Eur. Troad. v. 3143.

—πέπλοισιν ὡς σεσιτίλμεν νεκρὸν
Στεφανοῖς δ' ὅσοι σοὶ δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σὰ.

Artem. l. 1. c. 14

After they had done this, they set him on the ground, with his *feet* out ward toward the *gate*: as being never to put his foot in the house again, Then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (λέκτος) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave εὐνασίμον, as it is likewise termed κοιμητήριον, and so the dead are called εὕδοντες, and κατακοιμημένοι, for death is a long sleep, as sleep is a short death. The couch was also adorned with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs and Flowers, (as *Euripides* saies) ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ φέρει βλαστήσαντα, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories. Having thus adorned it, they *placed it*, or *set it forth at the doors*, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was, —πρὸ θύρης τεθαμένον.

In Hel.

This placing of him they called προτίθεσθαι, *collocare, Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alcestis*.

—ἡ περιῶσαν τὴν ἔκφορὰν.

During the πρόθεσις, and all the time till the ἔκφορὰ (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efferebatur*, ἐξεκομίζετο, as S. *Luke* saith, (whether out of the house or the City) there stood at the door, a great earthen vessel filled with water, which they fetcht from another house, for the people to wash in, that came in and out. This vessel is called by *Hesychius* λάσξ, by *Pollux* ἀρύταινα, and by *Aristophanes* ὄστρακον, in that place where he speaks of the λήκυθοι too, that is the Pots for oyntments wherewith they anointed the body, as likewise of strewing of *Origanum* (they say it is for good hearts *origanum tuéri*) and of Vine-branches, for what use I know not, unless it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of anointing, or else to make the Torches of them: for of such stuffe Torches were commonly made: as *Eustathius* saies ὁ φανὸς was ἡ ὑπὸ κλημάτινον λάμπας. And so our Poet in *Lusistrato* calls it ἐμπίλου φανὸν: pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the lesser pots of oyntment, and the Vine branches together.

Τὸ ποτήριον τὸ μὲν τὸ θερμάντρον
Καὶ λήκυθον' ὑπόδυθι συγκλείσου τὸ ῥάβδος
Καὶ τὸν οἰνοπώγωνα ἡ θύραζε τὰς λήκυθους
Τὸ λουτρὸν τὸ κατάθου τὸ ὄστρακον ὡς ἐπὶ θύραις.

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alcestis* (*verse* 99.) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried as they said she was, because he could not see any spring-water πηγαῖον χέρνιβα (as he calls it, for such it should be) standing at the door as the custome was.

The washing it self was called λύσις ἀπὸ νεκρῦ, like the Israelites βαπτίζεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, which he read of in *Ecclesiasticus* cap. 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans used *Suffitionem, a perfuming of the house*: for they thought the whole house polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And so did the Greeks too, as may appear by those words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

* *Eurip.*

* *c.* 7. *v.* 11.

* *in Eccles.*

Καὶ νεκρὸς

a Eurip. Hel. v. 1446. [a] Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ' ἐστὶ καὶ δόμοι
Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλεως—
Our house is clean, for *Menelaus* here
Lost not his life—-—

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THe best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day, and not in the night. And this I gather'd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune teller, threatning *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night, (clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies, who make it an honour for the better sort,) saies she

b Id. in Troad. v. 446. [b] Κεκλῆσεται τυμβήρη τυκτὸς, οὐκ ἐς ἡμέρα.
Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sunrising

Il. 11. (ὡς ἠῶθεν ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς.
saies *Homer* in the funeral of *Hector*) *at break of day*, up the Corps is mounted, and carried along most bravely

De Luctu. ὥσπερ εἰς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένον (saies *Lucian*) in pomp, as if it were intended for a *shew*. Now it was carried (saies the Scholiast upon *Homer* οὐκ ἐπ' ὀχήματος τινὸς, ἀλλὰ ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. but upon mens shoulders up aloof ἀρθὲν, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcestis*, where he speaks also of πεζοπόλοι Servants, (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

πεζοπόλοι

a Eurip. Alc. v. 607. Φέρουσιν ἄρθεν πρὸς τάφον τε, καὶ πυρὰν.
In the like sense he uses the word ἀείρω in another Tragedy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being *trudg'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulysses* had slain him.

Τίς δῆτα καρανῖς ὁ θεὸς, ὦ βασιλεῦ
Τὸν νεόσυντον ἐκ χερῶν

ἀείρει;

Θεραπόντων πλῆθος.---

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Spears, and other arms and armour along with the Corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funeral of *Pallas*.

---Hastam alii, galeamque ferunt-----

And it is likely they held those Spears at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the burial of a Souldier, and as *they* did then

---& versis Arcades armis.

As the Corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernal Gods, to whom he went, or to bemoan his departure, for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Phera* concerning his VVife.

[a] Τιμᾶς γ' τὴν σὴν ἅπασαν, ὡς νομίζεται,
Πεζοπορεῖ τ' ἀεὶ, καὶ ζώσαν ὑπάτην ἔδη.

a *Eurip. Alc.* 608.

Those that accompanied the Coarse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick [b] person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walk stately before the Corps, and the [c] VVomen (but not unlesse they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πίτταν about her; whatsoever that was.

b *Diog. Laert. L. 1. 10.*

c *Demost. ad Macart.*

CAP. XXIV.

De Ministerio Funerarum & Siticinum.

[a] See Ierem. c. 9. v. 17.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had [a] מקוננות, and the Romans *Præficas*: so *they* also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, ἀοιδοὺς, or θρήνων ἐξάρχους, as * Homer calls them; or παιδιηΐας as *Nonnus*. And since vocal Musick might be allowed, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any instrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe.

* Il. Ω.

Eurip. Alc. v. 430.

Αὐλῶν δ' μὴ κατ' ἄκρου, μὴ λύρας κτύπος
Ἔστω---

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*, *Mortuos quoq; ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regi: num institutis sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus anima ad originem dulcedinis musicæ, id est, ad cœlum redire creditur*. Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing περὶ λύραν, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*, for *Paan's*, and such merry songs (as the reason is given upon the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phœnissæ*, ἄλυρον δ' μοῦσαν) But for the *Pipe*, I never knew but that they might sing περὶ αὐλόν: for else why were there πυμβαῦλοι *Pipers* among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them δ κόσμον, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the coarse; such as *Admetus* in [a] *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

[a] In Alc. v. 630

Κόσμου δ' τὸν σὸν ὕπνον' ἢ δ' ἐκδώσει δ'.

I have some cause to think that some of those εἰδωλα which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the family of the party deceased, for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the Funeral. And if so, then those περὶ τὸν ἀγάλματα * (neer the place above quoted) said to be carried by those which followed the corps, may be translated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the *gods* of the dead, and not the *dead* themselves.

* lib. v. 612.

But yet after all this, you may do well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceased: for such as had more age had more honour then others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alcestis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger sort, he replyed, by no means; for

Κᾆν γηρᾷ θάνῃ, θαλπνὰ θυσία ταφήσεται.

If old she die, she will be richly buried.

And here, because I have such an occasion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the customs used in mourning at Funerals, or any other time, and first, of the cutting of the hair.

CHAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians, upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and *baldness* (as the *Hebrews* say) used to cut their hair τὸ ψιλὸν (as they call'd it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gathered by those words of *Lysias* (cited by *Aristotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his speech for the Corinthians, that died in the fight with the

* L. 3. c. 10.

Persians at Salamis, saies he, ἄξιον ἦν ὁπλίτου τοῦ τυχόντος τοῦ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτήσαντος τὴν κεφαλὴν ξυρᾶσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *It had been no less then desert, if all Greece had been shaved at the burial of those gallant souldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this suffice not, you may take the testimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Country of the *Cyclopians* to do the like.

---ἰαχεῖτο δ' Κυκλωπείας
Σίδηρος ὁπηνίκα τιθεῖσα κάρηνα τεκέων κείρεται.

And he himself when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourned for after this manner, by no worse man then *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this custome, *Strabo* speaks of a Town in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from the *mourning haire*, cut in that place by *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*. So you shall meet with the like practise of *Tellus* in the behalf of *Phaeton*: and of *Bacchus* the God (as *intonsus as he was*) for the loss of his wife. Nay you shall find *Job* himself at this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And in the Prophecy of [a] *Jeremy* you may read, *Cut off thy hair, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation.* Tis true, they were to be blamed for these follies, and in [b] *Cicero* you shall meet with a saying of *Bion* himself, deriding the use of this custome in *Agamemnon*: *Perinde stultissimum Regem in luctu capillũ sibi evellere, quasi calvitio maror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former loss of his friends, with another of his hair. VVhat if it be objected to all this, (which we confess to be true too) that it was a custome to cut the hair in token of joy? For first among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you shall find *Joseph* cutting his hair, when he came out of prison; and *Jonathans* Son, vvhen he met vvith *David*, for joy doing the like. Nay that action of *Job* it self, is by *Origen* (the *Allegorical* Interpreter) thought to have been an expression not of sorrovv, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerful patience under his affliction. 2ly Among the Romans, you knovv their *squallid prisoners* let their hair hang dovvn long, that they might look the more *dejected*, and so move the judges to

[a] *c. 7. v. 29.*

[b] *Tusc. Q. l. 3.*

pitty

pitty when they came to be tried.

[a] *Aſpice demiſſos lugentis more capillos.* a *Ovid. in Epiſt.*

Whereas after their abſolution or releaſement, they preſently cut it. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epiſtles interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from ſome eminent danger. And laſt of all for your Greeks themſelves, that they let their hair grow long in times of ſadneſs, may appear by that of *Lycophron.*

Κρατὸς δ' ἄκερᾳ τῶνα καλυνῆ φόβῃ
Μνήμλω παλαιὸν πωλικὸς ὑδρμὰ πον.

And that they *cut it* in times of *joy*, will be out of queſtion, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who ſaies that δεῖ γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς καρήνου καὶ τὸ κάρηνα, *the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they uſe for cutting the hair.* To reconcile theſe things, perhaps it may ſuffice to ſay, That cutting their hair ſhorter by way of a κῆτος, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy; but ſhaving it cloſe, even to *baldneſs*, of ſorrow and dejection, as among the Jews, *weeping, and mourning, and baldneſs* were joyned together. I know there are ſome, that think to reconcile all, by ſaying as *Plutarch* ſaies (in *Romaicis*) παρ' Ἕλλησιν ὅταν δυσχέρεια γένηται, κείρονται μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, κομῶσι δ' οἱ ἄνδρες, that *the women expreſſed their ſorrow by cutting their hair*, and *the men by letting it grow.* VVhich may be likely enough, becauſe in ſorrow, people out of a dejected careleſneſs, love to appear as unhandſome as may be, and contrary to the uſual faſhion: now it was accounted a handſome thing, (and ſo it was the cuſtome too) among the Greeks, for women to wear their hair long, and the men to wear it ſhort. But how is it then that in [b] *Terence* there is mention made of a VVoman in mourning with long hair?

Iſai. c. 22. v. 12.

b *In Heaut.* Act. 2. Sc. 1. 3.

Capillus paſſus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter.

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any diſaſter befell ſuch as were neer of kin unto them, ἀσημότον, &c. it being a time for ſadneſs, they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men *glad*) and confined themſelves to that which the Scholiaſt calls ἀλφίτων κυκεῶνα, a *Barly maſh*, (Ale, its like.) But ſorrow muſt be more then negative: and therefore, *Euripides.* First, they uſed to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and ſometimes to fling their Vails in the fire, (not in healths, but in ſobs and ſighs) as it is in *Rheſus.*

Καὶ συμπυκώσω μυελὸν πέπλων χλιδῶν,

Ovid. Met. l. 8. fab. 9. 2 To throw their faces in the duſt, or the duſt in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultuſq; ſeniles
Fœdat humi fuſos—

Or ſometimes aſhes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes.*

Eurip. Suppl. v. 816.

—ἀμτὶ δ' αὐχένων
Κάρηνα χοῦσθαι.—

Smyrnæus. C. 3 Κόπτεσθαι (which is uſed for πενθεῖν) to beat their breſts and their thighs, and cut and tear their fleſh like a Jew: as one ſaies

* *In Hel.* * ἀμύσσεσθαι χερσὶ καλλονήν.

Making ſtreaks and *furrows* with their nailes in their face (as *Euripides* uſes the word αὐλακίζειν.

—ἔνυξεν ἡλοκίσιν.)

b *In Avib.* 4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ὤ, ὤ, ὤ, ὤ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon b *Ariſtophanes*) comes the word ὠλολύζω to be uſed

uſed for a ſong of lamentation *viz.* ὑπὸ τῆ λίγυη ἑ.

But at a Funeral, ſo immoderate were they (eſpecially the Women) in theſe and the like expreſſions of ſorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpoſe to reſtrain them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve leſſum funeris ergô habento, let no Women*, &c. Their cuſtoms they uſed at ſuch times were theſe. Firſt, when they came forth of the houſe (and not onely at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the [a]*Tragedian* for a very ordinary practiſe, where he ſhews how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe neither the pot of Holy water, nor ſo much as a lock of hair could be ſeen at the door, as they were wont to be. *Cicero de Legib.*

Καίπερ' ὄντες ὀπὶ σεσύρμεθ τομαῖ--
--σι, κἀδὶ νεκύων πύνδικον πτυεῖ.

[a] *Euripid. Alc. v.* 100.

2 As they went along with the corps, they kept their head cloſe covered, and their faces, as other people do. And therefore *Oreſtes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, ſaies he

---ἀνακάλυπτ' ὦ κασίγνητον κάρα
Ἔτι δακρύων τ' ἀπολθ'.---

Be uncover'd, &c.

See Eſther c. 6. v. 12. and Jer. c. 14. v. 3.

In the like manner *Theſeus* (as it is in another [b]Tragedy of the ſame Poet) when *Adraſtus* came to petition his help κατήφης χλανιδίοις, all bemuſled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, ſaid to him

Λέγ' ἐκκαλύψας χρῶτα καὶ πάρες γόον.

[b] *In Suppl. v.* 110.

They uſed likewiſe to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands.) So [c]*Helen* ſaies of the Trojans

Ἐπὶ δ' ἔθεντο χέρας ὑδωρ.

[c] *Id. Hel. v.* 376.

3 Their manner of *going*, was to tread as ſoftly as they could with their feet, and make no noiſe with their tongues (I mean the reſt of the company, and not thoſe which they got for the purpoſe to weep)

Σίγα, σίγα λεπτὸν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης
Σώζετε, μὴ κτυπήσετε, μηδὲ κτύπος

ſaies

Saies the *Chorus*, In the book of [a]Kings, tis said that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth אמ ן הלך and *went softly*, and so [b] *Isaiah* saies, *I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul* אררה though I know some Translations render it otherwise.

a l. 1 c. 21. v. 27
b c. 38. v. 15.

4 When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest, they would cut off all the best locks of their hair (πλόκαμον or βόστρυχον) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire. And this they called πένθιμον κόμην and στυγνοκόμας τρίχας (as it is in *Aristophanes*) or κόμαν Βόστρυχον (as in *Æschylus*) or καθάπτομον χλιδὴν (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχὰς τῆς κόμης (as it is every where.) All their *best Locks* I said, for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles* was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πανούργως *deceitfully*, and hiding the best of her hair to save it, at the burial of *Clytemnestra*, for indeed ἔδει πᾶσι καθ' ὁλόθειαν θρηνοῦντας πᾶσαν τὴν πλόκαμον τομῆν, *they should cut it all*, saith the Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reason or two for the action, *viz.* First to make them seem squallid, careless, and contemptible; whereas locks Ἄρρυτα καὶ καλλοπισμὸν ἐμπαρέχει, *are used for ornament, and spruceness*, as being τρυφὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς (as I may say) the *Luxury of the hair*. Then, tis known that the Greeks were κομητομώντες, and used to wear their hair long οὐ μόνον εἰς κάλλος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν, saies the Scholiast, both to *please their friends and to fright their enemies*. Nay they took such a *pride* in having it so, (calling themselves Ἀκαρπᾶνας, and such as cut it too short κειροτάς) that κομᾶν, signifying to wear hair long, has been used to signifie to be [d] *proud*.

c Il. β.

d Il. ϛ.

2 Ἵνα διὰ τάτης τιμᾶσθαι ἴλεως ἀυτῆς ὁ τεκὼν ᾖ, *to get the good will of the deceased party, and the Manes*. Some again say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or Mother, by way of thanks for their education, and so they call'd it χαριστήρια ποιεῖν, ἀντιποδοῦναι τὰς ἀναστροφάς. But why then should [e] *Hercules* do it to *Sostratus*, he who was but his *Ganimede*. Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the

e *Pausan.*

the dead (which *Licurgus* confined to the ſpace of eleven daies) the Women were not to wear any * Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at firſt were but one thing, *viz.* * Wood for heat and light too.) λύχνος ἄπτειν ἐκ πυρὸς ἤτουν, ſaith an old Gloſſe, and to this cuſtome ſome do refer that in the Satyriſt.

* *Lycophr.*

Vid. Suid. in φευκτὸς *et Heſych. in* Δαλὸς.

Pullati proceres, &c.
—tunc odimus ignem. *Juven. Sat. 3.*

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *Paleſtræ*, and *gymnaſia*, muſt be ſhut up: together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themſelves. But it is time to return to the Corps, and ſee it buried as ſoon as I can, for fear of giving offence (as I told you before.)

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco ſepulturæ.

THe ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called Ἑκαταῖαι, ſo called becauſe they led to the νεῖα, the *Graves*, or the *Common place of burial*. This gate is ſometimes called Ἱεραὶ πύλαι, [a] *ſacræ portæ*, whether in oppoſition to the πύλαι ἀποφράδες (in *Plutarch*) or the χαρώνειοι πύλαι (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phraſe, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans do) by which they dragged the Malefactors; I am yet to ſeek: for Malefactors were to ſuffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried with in. It ſeems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike unclean, and ſo took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

[a] *Theoph. π. Ἀπαίδ. 1. Pollux.*

The place of burial in ancient times for a King, or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, to ſhew that he might not be a *Mountain* * for ever) according to that in *Lycophron.*

Kings and princes are ſo called in Scrip. as Iſaiah 41. 25. &c.

Τειχὸς δ' παρ' ὅσσοις Κερκάδος νόμος

Or that of *Virgil.*

[a] *An.* 11. —*fuit ingens Monte ſub alto*
Regis Derceni terreno ex aggere buſtum.

Lib. de Orig. Gent. Rom. *Aurelius ſaies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *ſepultus circa radices Montis, cui ex ſe nomen dedit*, unleſs you will ſay that thoſe *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger ſize, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive*: and ſo the hills muſt be made by the burier, as *Lucan ſaies*

L. 8. *Et Regum cineres extructo monte quieſcant.*

But for men of a lower rank, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis* —ἀνὰ κόνδυλα γαίης

Βοὸς πολυκωκύτους εἰς ἄιδαο δάμυς.

'Tis true, that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may ſay) appointed for the purpoſe, called by the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὁ μὲν ἔσω ὁ δ' ἔξω τ' πόλεως, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Ariſtophanes* in his *Ranæ*, calls them τὰς ταφὰς, the *Burials* or the *Buryes*. That burial place within (otherwiſe called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thucydides*) was for thoſe that made an honourable end in the Field for the good of the *Commonwealth*: the manner whereof I ſhall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral fields, and encloſures. And therefore we ſhall read that ſometimes cloſe to the Gates, ſometimes by the way ſides, according to

In *Rheſ.* v. 880. that of *Hector* in *Euripides.*

——πύλης
Θάσσειν πλάκωσιν λαοφόρου πρὸς ἐλεγτὰς.

CAP.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOw for the usage of the bodies: when they came to the place of burial, saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*, τὸ παλαιὸν τὰ σώματα τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐκαίετο διὰ τὸ ἀπείρους γίνεσθαι, εἶτ' ἔπαυσε διὰ τὸ λοιμῶδες τοῦ χωρίου, the custome was at first to burn them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam.* 10. *Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi se igni lustraverit petere sedes inter astra.* And the reason was, saies that Scholiast, *because by this means the body might presently consume all away to nothing.* But that custome (I know not for what reason) was not so well liked by other people. Insomuch that the *Magi* among the * *Persians*, thought it ἀνοσιόν τι *a thing most prophane* (I feare me more for the *Fire* then any thing else.) and therefore at length it came to be lesse used, so as sometimes they would burn them, and sometimes onely cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that τύμβος a *Grave*, should come from τύφω, τυτίω καίω, *to burn*, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, burial by burning, was still esteemed the more honourable and stately way of the two: as may appear by their unwillingnesse to have it common; for they denied the use of it, First to Infants. 2. To such as kill'd themselves. 3 To such as were killed with Lightning or *Fulguris* or *struck with the Planet* (as we say) who were to be buried there where they died, or at least in some peculiar place apart, as we do those that Hang themselves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* stoned to death, as he was scaling the walls (a thing invented by him as some report) because they imagined him to have been shot to death by *Jupiter*, must needs be buried χωρὶς *seorsum*, so *Adrastus* saies in *Euripides*

* Diog. Laert. l. 10

Ἢ χρεὼ ἦεν ἐπὶ τοῖσι θάψαι θάπτειν.

And laſtly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to beſtow any burial at all. Inſomuch that *Themiſtocles* having been dead long before in *Magneſia*, the Athenians in time of a peſtilence, though they had expreſſe command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to *Athens*, could by no means be permitted by the Magiſtrates to do it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Countrey, and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funeral, as the faſhion was (as I may ſay) *in his picture*, having erected a Tent, cloſely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original of this Law the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the ſiege of *Troy*, threatned whomſoever he found leaving his place treacherouſly in the fight, to kill him himſelfe, adding withall

—ἐ μὴ σύγε τόγε
Γυμνὸν πυρὸς λελάχοιμι θανέντα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἐντεῦθεν νόμος ἦν τοῖς ἀρίστοις μὴ θάπτειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς προδοτικώτερον ἐκπεπτωκότας. *Hence came the Law*, &c. But I muſt tell you after all this, that however *burning* & *burying* are ſo neer in their ſounds they have been far enough diſtant in their being, at leaſt in ſome Countries. For at *Rome* it was not uſed in *Macrobius* his time. Among the *Greeks* indeed it may be rather thought to have been diſcontinued onely upon diſlike, then not to have been begun when it was not uſed. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they eſteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead bodie, which it was to purifie, is reported by a Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Prometheus* with theſe words, Ἔ παρὲξον, Σοῆσιον, πάλιν ἰς δύναται ἀ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, *O, pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* The firſt that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*; Who deſiring of *Licymnius* to ſend his ſon *Argius* to help him in the war with *Laomedon* for the

the horses, engaged himself by an oath, to see him home safe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, συνζώων ἐπ' αὐτῷ *putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had his son indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he used him better then *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus* did *Menelaus*, who having promised him fifty ships with men, sent him one true ship, and poped him along with ships and men made of clay for the rest. The story is likely enough, but he that told me said he did not believe it, and therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reason or two of the use of the custome, either because πᾶν τὸ νεκρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, *every dead thing is impure*, and so it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, because it was commonly used to such a purpose, as being ἀγνιστικὸν, able to make that pure and chast, which before was adulterated with *Heterogeneous* abasements and alloys: whence *Euripides* saies of *Clytemnestra*'s body πυρὶ καθήγισται. Or else to shew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a Coach to be joyned in society with the gods above, τὸ θεῖον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναδοχὴν ὥσπερ ὀχήματι τῷ πυρὶ (how neer this goes to expresse the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) προσμίξαι τῷ ἐκεῖθεν. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles wings*: as I shall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is said ἀναπλῆναι, *to be made again* by the fire, and so to become καινὴ Ἀθάνατος, as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophisters of *India* (πυρίκαυστοι) used to burn themselves into that immortality, which they desired of *Alexander*, when he put them to ask what they would.

* Χ. Hom. Il. A.

Ib. Χ.

* *Cic. Tusc. Q. L. 5.*

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, sive comburendi corporis. De loculis & reliquiis.

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood, and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Hector*:

Il. ω. Ἐν δ' πυρὴ κάετο νεκρὸν ἐπ' ἐσσυμένως δ' ἐβάλοντο πῦρ.

The wood was not alwaies of one sort. But sometimes Oak: as in *Euripides*, where you shall read of κορμοὶ δρυὸς *Oaken billets*, at the funeral of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in *Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Athenæus*: unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the burial of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

Herc. Fur. v. 241.
a In Trath.
b L. 15.

——ut corpus sepelivet naufragus ignis
Et collecta Rogum facerent fragmenta carinæ.

Manilius l. 4.

Thus to burn the bodies they called it πυρὰν τοῦ σώματος, and the *Bone-fire* it self πυρὰν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bonefire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burn the better. Not to put the carcass (surely) but themselves out of the pain. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embraced it as an excellent good omen. Still there was Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legito*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that τὴν πυρὰν σπείσαντες ἐκοίμησαν, * they swept up the ashes together in a heap. The bones they took and washed them in water

Il. ψ.

brought

brought in κύλικα pots for the purpose, by the ἐργαστῖναι (women appointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and such other things as they used in the γάμοι) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrapped them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they called θήκην, or σόρον, or λάρνακα. Etym. Mag. *Il. ψ.*

Ὡς δ' ὅτε τις νεκρὸν θάπτῃ ἐπιμάρτυρος ἀνήρ.

The vessel, whatsoever it was, is in *Lycophron*, called κρωσσὸς as if it were a Pot: and in *Moschus* χρύσεος κρωσσὸς, as if it were wont to be *gilded*: and in *Plutarch* ξύλινος σορὸς, as if it were wont to be *Stone*, me thinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was usually made of Wood, viz. of *Cedar*, which is longest a rotting, and is therefore called νεκρῶν ζωὴ, *the life of the dead*. Indeed whether it were ordinary to have such Coffins, or onely for those that had *Sepulchra*, and Vaults of purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. But that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word κέδρος, used sometimes for the chest it self does seem to declare in those words of *Admetus* desiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too. Idyl. 4. In Numa.

Ἐν τάφου δὲ τοῖς σὸν εὐνάσω δέμας
Κεδρου θ' ὑπ' ἄντρα καὶ λίθου στέγας. Eurip. Alc. v. 365.

A wish not unreasonable, seeing the thing desired was so usual both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St. *Austins* own Mother was of the same mind: for why?

Quos certus amor, quos bora novissima junxit
Componi cumulo non invidebat eodem. Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 2.

The Athenians indeed seldome put above one mans bones in the same coffin: but the *Megarenses* many times four, saies *Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that which the fire *left*, were called λείψανα or *Reliques*. And they were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Oreste*, μήποτε οἱ χθόνιοι &c. least they should be exposed to the rage of *too deadly* enemies. If the party were burnt in a forraign Country, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the

Coffin

coffin, and pompously shewed, and adorned with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid.*

Ossa tamen facito parvâ referantur in urnâ,
Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* feasts, *Vetus Gloss.* τῶν ἀγυιέων ἑορταὶ αἱ γινόμεναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τοῖς νεκροῖς. After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance.

Virgil. —*Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.* (But of this already.) Now the place where the Coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as proved unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of ἀνάπαυστοι. *Diog. La. Harpocr.*

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THe customes used in a *cold* burial were these; (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the plaies.) The peculiar place of burial was usually chosen before they died, & markt with a black stone. And when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, κεφαλὴν κεῖται Ἀχαιὸν πᾶσι, &c. saies *Ulysses* in *Hecuba Euripidis* agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place ὑπὸ χθονὸς πίτνω & the Latine word *Tumulus* a *heap* or a *grave.* But (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, and a little handsomer, with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs. For so *Theseus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* should honour his Corps —λαΐνοισι τ' ἐξοχώμασι. Whether earth or stones, it seems they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth.

Τύμβον

[a] Τύμβον καὶ ψιλὴν ξεσσὸν, saies the same Poët in [a] lib. v. 836.
Alcestis, and in *Helena* ---- [b] ὀρθὸν ξεστῷ πάγῳ The po- [b] lib. v. 992.
sture which the body usually had in the grave, was with the face towards the East saies *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*; towards the West, saies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the stone which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition of the party deceased, which they described commonly in verse. *Plato* was for just four Heroick verses and no more. Such Epitaphs they called γνωρίσματα, because they made *known* the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memorias* because they made them *remembred*. And therefore the *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, (saies *Justin*) used to tye a *ticket* or a *note*, about their wrists, to certifie of what condition they were; that in case they should dye in the fields, they might have a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to sacrifice, & pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis.* Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* used for *Alcestis*.

——κάφα σοι
Χθὼν ἁπανω πίτνοι, γύναι.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked [c] fellow, or a [d] Coward, so they thought it too little to be denyed to another: and this made *Menelaus* to fear so little to dye, for saies he

[c] V. 462. [d] Κακὸς.

[e] Εἰ γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοὶ [e] Eurip. Hel. v. 857.
Εὐψυχεῖν ἀνδρὰ πολεμίων θανόνθ' ὑπο
Κέρτ' ἐστὶ πατρὸς γενναίου ἐν πύμασι χθονὸς
Κακὸς δ' ἔρρει στερρὸν ἐκβάλλων γῆς.

CAP. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THE manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall Gods, or the Gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ἄδης or ἅιδης, is a place

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (* ἐσχάραν) (perchance to get the nearer to them) according to that practice in *Ovid*.

Met. l 7. *Haud procul egesta scrobibus tellure duabus*
Sacra facit.

Odyss. 11. The Victime then slain, was either a barren Cow, as * *Homer*
* *Æn. 6.* saies ——στεῖρα βοῦν, ἥτις ἄριστη, And *Virgil*,
——*Sterilemque tibi Proserpina, vaccam.*

Or else a black sheep; such as the the old fellow saw slain at the grave of *Agamemnon*.

* *Eurip. Electr.* * Πυρᾷς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς εἶδον μελαγχαιτον πόκῳ
v. 513. Σφάγιον ἱστεῖδον——

a *In Oedip. v.* 556. And such as *Seneca* speaks of a *Nigro bidentes vellere, &c.* The reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either because it suited best with *mourning*; or because it was to the

L. 7. *black gods* of the *dark*: For as *Arnobius* saies, *Diis lævis sedes habitantibus inferas color furvus est gratior.* Afterwards it

Plut. in Sol. rose to an Ox, till it was forbidden by *Solon*. Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a spayd or a barren female: so it might not be Ram nor Bull, nor Boar, &c. τὰ μὴ γονιμα ζῶα, or ὅσων ἐστείρωνται, ἢ ὅσα μὴ ἦσαν ἔτοκα, saies the Scholiast; and that for the same reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offered down both their haire, and the Bristle-haire of the Beast, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχάς, viz. ὡς ἀλύχοιτο τὸ

Hom. Il. ψ. ζωτικὸν ἀποτίλωσι, that they might not give the *dead*, either that which had life in it selfe, or that which could beget it in another thing Those *seta*, or bristle-haires, are in a peculiar manner termed ἀπαρχαί, and the offering thereof, ἀπαρχᾶσθαι,

Il. ξ. as in these words.

—ἀπαρχόμενος κορυφῆς τελίχας ὑὸς οὐλὰς βάλλων
Ἀργιόδοντος ὑός.

This rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

Et summas carpens media inter cornua Setas
Ignibus imposuit——

Yea

Yea not only the beast which they *slew*, but all the rest which they suffered to live, in the time of a publique funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practice of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all, at the funeral of *Masistius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funeral of *Hephæstion* dealt with the Horses & the Mules, and the walls themselves of the town of *Ecbatane* ἐξεκείρας (as *Ælian* has it) *shaving* them ἐς χθὸ close to the ground. And, I remember, in [a] *Euripides*, *Admetus* desiring to celebrate his Wifes funerall in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses maines to be all cut.

[a] In Alcest. v. 439.

——χὴ μονόμπυγας
Πώλους σιδήρου τόμιον' ἀν χάλκων φόβων.

Then besides the victime they had πὸς χοὰς *Libationes*, which was usually μελίκρατον, hony and milk and wine, to which they added Cakes, if the Translator render it a right

——ἐμπώλους ὁδοιπόρους. In [b] *Euripides*, the manner of powring their liquors, was first to go round about the grave, and powre out some, as they went, out of the bottle (as he [c] saies λύσας ἀπὸν) and then to stand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* saies κορυφὰς ἔξακίσας, &c. As they offered they used certain speeches to the party deceased, such as that was

[b] Hel. v. 554.

[c] Id. in Elect. v. 530.

Ἑλένη σ' ἀδελφὴ δ' ἀδελφῇ χοὰς,

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore those χοαὶ, were usually termed ἱλάσκειοι, and ἀλλακτήριοι, and κηλητήριοι χοαί: and they made choice of the most proper liquors, to sweeten and supple them. Such a prayer is that in *Euripides* to the ghost of *Achilles*, Ὦ παῖ πηλέως, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς, δέξαι χοὰς ἃς σοὶ κηλητηρίους πέμπω δ' ἀγωγὰς, &c.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kindred too (as most of the rest were) and therefore *Cassandra* setting forth the sad condition of the Leagures at *Troy*, and their friends at home, saies she, *Their Parents be-*

ing thus bereft of their children in the Siege.

——ἀδίκους παῖδοις
Ἐδ' ὅσις αὐτῷ ἅιμα γῆ δωρήσεται.

——no body have
To let a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEsides all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the hearse and the corps: And this action they called στεφανῶν τὸ μνῆμα and the Garlands themselves ἄνθη and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only ἀνθοσμίαι, made of a *Collation* or a *Collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be thrown ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρας, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower πόθος, (saith [a] *Athenæus*) and then the Garlands were called πόθοι too. And it may be sometimes of Σέλινον or *Apium* as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that hearb in funeralls (whence the proverb of one that is desperately sick ἐδεῖτο σελίνου, *that he needs* Apium) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the hearb, when a man has won the best at a fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus* (*in Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies [b] *Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet *condition* of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, ἀπραγμοσύνης ἀπόχλησιν στεφανοῦσι σύμβολον. But I rather think

[a] L. 14. & 5.

[b] Pedag. l. 11. c. 8.

think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ κατατρέφειν τὸν νεκρόν, to honour the dead as they use to do the living, when they won the *Game*. For the same reason, doubtless, was it that they did πομποζολεῖν (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* saies, they did to *Polyxena* when she dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant Corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old fellow in [a] *Euripides* with Myrtle.

a *Electr. v.* 510.

—— τὸν μὲν δ' ἀμοιβαῖσι μυρσίναις.

Whether was there any allusion therein to the *golden bough* or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. It seems that in *Italy* they had the same customes. For saies [b] *Varro*, *ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they *carried leaves to cast upon the dead trees*. And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear by those words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius*, *Coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis*, &c. nay *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, saies my Author, they came to wool at last when they had more to spare.

Æn. 6.

b *L. 6. de L. L.*

CAP. XXXIII.

De Columnis. de Oratione. & Ludis funeribus. & de Aquilis.

EIther upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law, To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*: and *Isocrates* with the Image a *Syren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his wife, when he would get the

Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοφὴ γ' ἐφεῦρε τἀνδρὶ τῷ σῷ μηχανὴν
Ἐναλλάξαι σε λέκτρα κἀκποδὼν ποιῆσαι.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramicus*. Which speech if the party dyed in a battel, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of burial, but every year after: as *Cicero* saies, *in Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.* *Lib.de Orat.*

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slain in the *Peloponnesian* war; and some, *Solon*. But besides funeral speeches, they had funeral *playes* too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of σὶρ.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burials, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which wil please you all as much, *viz.* That even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and foolish in the living, as may appear in the words of *Hecuba* her self, or the * Poët for her. * *Eurip. Troad. v.* 1247.

Δοκῶ γ' ἔτ' ἐς θανοῦσι διαφέρειν βραχύ,
Εἰ πλουσίων τις τἀξ ὑπ' ἔκτισεν κτεάτων
Κενὸν γ' ὄνειρον· ὃστις ἦν ζώντων τ' ἄρ.

I think it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poor they have their funeral,
Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus dispo'ed of th body, they returned home. For the Soule they take no care, unless it were a King or a Prince

Prince, whose soules they imagined ἀχέτος to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*: and therefore was it, that they were * wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὸν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach, *Aretmid. l. 2. c. 30.

CAP. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funestæ, & de Parentalibus. &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging and *Lustrating* the *house* with brimstone; and *themselves*, by going through the fire, or some other lustration; for there were several sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slain by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the δαλὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἱερᾷ μὲ λιτῇ περιθεν ἐχάς λογδίῳ
Καθάρσι ὄικων. * *Eurip. Here. F. v. 693.*

After this they kept a feast, τὸ περίδειπνον *Silicernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it, wore Garlands: as *Cicero* saies, *quas inibant parentes coronati.* The colour of their apparrel was white: *& quis unquam cœnavit atratus*, saies * *Cicero.* But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thetis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son? So I remember *Admetus* in * *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alcestis*, ἐν μελαγκρήπιδι στολῇ, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* κυανόστολος in a *sky coloured gown.* Perchance they wore black no longer then till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed again, not only nine daies after, when they called it ἔνατα, and thirty daies after, when they called it τριακοστὰς (when they

*Odyss. 17.

* *In vatinium.*

* *Alc. v. 427.*

they ſacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their ſouls to the *ſhades*) but alſo upon the day of his death ever after; calling it νεκύσια, and upon the day of his birth calling it γενέσια. The common name for all the feaſts, or the common feſtivall for all the infernall rites, and for all perſons, was Νεμέσια, uſually kept in the Month of *Antheſterion*: as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum*, when the kindred eſpecially (*les parens*) did ſacrifice both to the earth and the gods under it, and the ghoſts of their Parents, or their Anceſtors above it,

Of all theſe funerall rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the perſon deceaſed, might be ſuffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chryſothemis* forbidding her to ſacrifice,

Οὐδ' ὅσιον ἐχθρᾶς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἱστέα
Κτερίσματα ——

Nor ſo much as come neer the grave, as *Ulyſſes* in *Sophocles* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay ſuch was *Sepulchralis ſanctitas*, (ſaies *Tully*) that no *ſtranger* might be ſuffered to do it, for fear he *might* be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, then what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mouth* of death, (for ſo * *Homer* calls the grave) to be *gnawn like a ſheep*. by the never ſatisfied teeth of hungry שְׁאוֹל. For τυμβεύομεν, he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly ſaid to be devoured, as what is devoured and incloſed in the ſtomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly ſaid to be buried τυμβεύεται. For ſo the *Vultures* are called * τάφοι ἐμψυχοι, *living graves*: nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themſelves, ſome of whom, even *their mouths are open ſepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. As that

Iſa. Pſal. 49. 14

Hermog.

of

of *Tereus* when he eat his Son.

—Seque vocat bustum miserabile nati.

And of *Saturn* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as *Lactantius* saies) *Saturn* was thought to have been said to have eaten his Sons, because he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be helpt: these great eaters, Death and the Grave are all mouth, & no ears, like the belly. There's no stopping nor filling their mouth. Ἅιδης ἐν οὐδὲ βωμοὺς, saies *Æschylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. He is inexorable, and therefore called ἀπρόσιτος θεὸς in *Euripides*. Neither (saies a *Scholiast) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not wherefore. Let us see therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone. L. 1. c. 13. * Or Hom. Il.

His Wife, if she seemed to be with child, was taken into the care & protection of the *Archon*, least she might be cunningly perswaded to marry with whom she should not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the punishment was arbitrary. The children were committed ἐπιτρόπῳ to a *Tutor*. He that was ἐπιτροπεύειν, to be overseer or Guardian, was either not to be of kin at all; or else so far off, that if the child should happen to die in his nonage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will, or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way soever it were, he was παίδων κύριος (saies *Æschines*) and had the managing of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty year old: and then either they themselves, or any else that would, might sue out δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς, a Writ *Malè administratæ Tutelæ*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this must be done within five years after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.

LIB. VI.

SECTIO I.

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus ſacris, De Aſylis & aris.

HAving taken this care to ſee the Marriage of himſelf, the Education of his children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I ſay ſomewhat in commendation of his conditions, & concerning his manner of Life, either towards the Gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the gods, becauſe there has been ſomething already done in that kind, I ſhall not ſpeak ſo largely; only a word or two, or more of the cuſtoms uſed in *Supplication* to, & in Swearing by the gods, and then I ſhall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equals, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies

Enemies in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, you have divided into three several Sections, the first of Supplication, called by them ἱκετεία.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave, or the like) whether he addressed himself to men, or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be lookt upon as sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from *Dodona's* Vocal Forrest to the *Athenians*, related by *Pausanias*.

Φεύζεο δ' Ἀρείοιο πάγον βαμόν τε Σιδόνος
Ἐνυαλίδαο, ὅτι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκέτευσι·
Δυσὶ πεζομάχοις, τοῦ μὴ σὺ κλεῖνε σιδήρῳ,
Μηδ' ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκέται ἱερὸί τε χ' ὅμιλοι.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be Ἄσυλοι, none might touch him upon pain of exilement. And therefore is it that *Polidorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he

—Βωμοὶ δ' ἐχέγγυοι πύλας πάρεισι. *The Altars are not far off.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, *what* (saies he) *dost Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder that *they* thus fled to Altars, or that *others* feared to meddle with, or to slay any body neer them: *viz.* Because they thought the bloud would be upon them that should do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For so the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creüsa, the law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True* (saies she) *but I must be killed by the same Law. No matter* (replies the Chorus) *sit fast, and if any one kill thee there,*

a *Eurip. Hel. v. 805.*

b Προσῴσεται σὸν αἷμα θήκεις, b *Ib. v. 1258.*

Thy bloud shall be upon him.

Insomuch that a great many even among them, seeing Malefactors thus protected from the *Law*, and consequently encouraged to the *transgression*, were bold to complain of the injustice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

Φεῦ δειλόν γε, θνητοῖς τοῦ νόμου σοφὸς ὁ κλῶψ
Ἔδηκεν ὁ θεός, οὐδ' ἀπ' γνώμης σοφῆς

Τὰς μὲν γὰρ δίκας ἔωμεν οὐκ ἴσχειν ἰσχὺν
Ἀλλ' ἐξαλύειν· ἐσὶ γὰρ ἄλυσις καλὸν
Θεῶν πονηρὰν χεῖρα.

I said before, *such or such*: becauſe 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledg, but onely ſix, *viz. Miſericordiæ*, *Minervæ*, *Eumenidum*, *Munichiæ*, and two of *Theſeus* Temples, one within, and another without the Walls. The firſt of theſe ſome ſay was the firſt *Aſylus* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preſerve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn.*8. *Poſtquã Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes inſidias corũ quos avus afflixerat, Athenis ſibi primi Aſylum, hoc eſt, templum miſericordiæ collocarunt, unde nullus poſſet abduci.* An example imitated by other people, almoſt in every Country. For they thought that otherwiſe a beaſt had a ſafer condition then a man, ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν θὴρ μὲ πίγαν, δοῦλος δ' βωμὸν θεῶν. But is he now ſafe for ever? yes, unleſs they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we uſe to do Eeles, &c. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to do.

In Rud. Act.3. Sc.4.

Ibo Hercle aliquo quæritatum ignem.

Ignem magnum hic faciam--- and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* ſheltring her ſelf by the Altar of *Thetis*, Πῦρ σοι παρεύσω--- on which the Scholiaſt thus, Ἐθος ἦν τοῖς βωμὸν καταφεύγουσι πῦρ παρεφίεσθαι, &c. And yet all Ἱκέται or Petitioners were not ſo afraid of a fire. As appears by the name of Ἑστίοι, which they have from flying to *hearths*, the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themiſtocles* did, when being *Oſtraciſ'd* and baniſhed, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Moloſſi* for ſhelter. Otherwiſe none that fled thither could be ſo wicked, but they counted him worſe that ſhould meddle with him. Inſomuch that thoſe who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plundred the Temple of *Minerva*) becauſe they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themſelves, and all other ſuch *prophane* companions after them called ἀλιτήριοι, as who ſhould ſay, *hinderers of ſupplica-*

supplication. Profane, I said, for it was no better than profanation, according to the Poet, στέφη μαίνου, the Garlands are *Polluted.* *Eurip. in Heracl.*

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PEtitioners both to the gods & men, used to go with στέφανοι, Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands [a] ἵνα αἰδήσιμοι δοκῶσι τοῖς ἰκτάνοις (saith the Scholiast on *Sophocles*) to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those green boughs are called by the several names of θαλοὶ, φυλλάδες ἱκτῆριες, ἱκτήσιοι κλάδοι, and sometimes ἱκετεῖαι, for [b] *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body supply the room thus,

[a] *In Oedip.*

[b] *In Aul. v.* 1216.

Ἱκετείαν δ' οὐκέτι ἐξάπτω σίδην
Τὸ σῶμα τεῦξον.—

In those boughs they put wool, (as we do silk in posies) and so called them εἰρεσιώνας, *vittatas laureas.*

Δήσει μαλίστ' σοφρόνως ἐστεμμένον
Ἀργῷ τε μαλλῷ The wool was not ty'd, *Æschyl. in Sum.*

and so fastned to the boughs, but onely wreathed & wrapped up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthea* in the Tragedy of the *Theban women petitioners* (v. 31.) called it ἄστιον ἄδετον φυλάδ' the *Tye without a knot.* The *Italians* used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies

Jamque oratores aderant ex Urbe Latinâ
Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.

And *Livy* speaks of the like practice of the people of *Rhodes.* The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive.*

[c] *Vittata laurus, & supplicis arbor Oliva.*

First, because both those kinds are ἀνθαλεῖς *not subject to withering*, and therefore *Euripides* gives the latter the Epithete of ἀκήρατος. 2ly. Because the Laurel was a sign of *prevailing*, and

[c] *Stat. Theb. l.* 12.

[d] *In Ion. v.* 1436.

and the Olive of peace and good will, as *Lactantius* saies *per quam pax petitur supplicando.* Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtful of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whom they petitioned, or of the statue of the God, just as[a] *Lucretia* did γενειον ἁπτῆ λαβομένη. But if hopefull, the *hands.* δεξιωτέον τ' ἐμὰς χεῖρας σῇσιν. And if confident, the *chin*, and the *cheeks*, καὶ παρειᾶς[c] γραΐας. It is said by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his ῥεμ. (where the Poet desires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he praies for a *Gale* of successe for the *Æginetæ*) that when they desired the parties *consent*, they touched the head to have it *annuere*: when his help, his *helping* hand; when successe, the knee. The last I know no great *reason* for, but *history* enough, even from the *Natural Historian* himself. *Hominis genibus quædam religio ineſt obſervatione gentium; hæc ſupplices attingunt, ad hæc manus tendunt, hæc ut aras adorant.* All *his* reason is, because of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortaſſe quia ineſt iis vitalitas, quippe quorũ inanitate foſſâ, ceu jugulo, ſpiritus fugiat.* And therefore *Homer* makes the *Litæ*, the *Petitioners Gods to be lame.* As good as that of *Zenobius* ὅτι οἱ κείμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν γόνατων ἔχον, ἃ νῦν εἰς γραμματεῖα ἀναγράφουσι, *because* Judges *had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books*

If the Petitioners were very fearful, and the persons of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, Κύρου κατοφίλουν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. It was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum.* The *old gloſſe* calls it φίλημα βασιλικὸν, ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς βασιλέως. I have read of a kisse of the hand when they did their reverence to the Gods with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they used in counting the number of ten) and then giving a turn on their right hand, as it is in[d] *Plautus.*

Quo me vortam, neſcio. Si Deos ſalutas, dextro vorſum, cenſeo.

The safest place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the Gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire

a *Dion Halic. l. 4.*
b *Schol. Oed. π.*
c *Eustath. in Phæac.*
Xenoph. l. 7.
d *In Curcul.*

fire whither they presently ran, when they came to any strange place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of the house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of *Cicero* in his *oration for his house*, *Nihil sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quàm domus uniuscujusq; civium. Hic aræ sunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic sacræ religionis cæremoniæ continentur: hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the ashes, in as mournful a posture as might be, they need not *open their mouths* for pitty; neither was it the custome so to do: For those *actions* speak loud enough; and an *eye* would serve for hearing.

Τῷ δ' ἄνεω, ᾗ ἄραωδι ἐρ' ἑστίᾳ ἁίξαντες
Ἷζανον &c.

This was the practise of *Ulysses* at the house of *Alcinous*, and of *Themistocles* at the house of *Admetus*; but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along with him for his guard, ταύτῳ μεγίστῳ ᾗ μόνῳ χρῆσθαι ἀναπτήρατον ἱκεσίαν τῆς Μολοσσῶν, the only way *in use among the people to obtain a request.* L. 4. Argon. a Odyss. 7. Thucidid.

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion was first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their desires might be crowned with successe.

b Πάντας ᾗ βωμοὺς, οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους
Περιπλάθη, κἀξίστεψε, ᾗ προσπύζατο
Πτύρθων ὑποχύσεσι μυρσινῶν φόβῃ. b Eurip. in Alcest.

Their usual gesture in praying, was to hold up their *arms* right toward Heaven, as c *Helen* saies

—ἐρᾷς ὠλένας πρὸς ἔρανὸν
Ῥιπτῶν δ'—— c Eurip. Helen. v. 1200.

But to wrest their *hands* as far as they could upon their wrests. According to that of *Æschylus*, where he saies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had tyed him fast to the hill, his stomach was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray *manibus supinis*, with *bended hands* like Women and children

children: γυναικείοις ἐντεύξεσι χρῶν.
Now sometimes, if they obtained their request, and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred; or write it down in a Table, and leave it behind them, to shew for a testimony.

CAP. III.

De generibus, & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. εὐκταῖα, or χαριστήρια, *vota, free-will offerings*, services promised and paid for a victory, or the like.

Ovid. Met. l. 9. —*Cenæo sacra parabat*
Vota Jovi.---2ly. τὰ ἐπ' μαντείας, *such as were imposed*, and *commanded by an Oracle.*
----Εὐκταῖα φαίεν ἢ ἐπὸ μαντείας τινός.

Sophoc. in Trach. In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1. χθονίοις to the *gods under ground*, and that ἐπὶ ἐσχάρᾳ in a ditch digged, or plowed up for that purpose. The Latine, called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had also Ἡρῶα, Temples and Plaies, and what not) together with the [a] image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2ly. Τοῖς χθονίοις, to the gods *upon ground*, much in the same manner. And 3ly Τοῖς οὐρανίοις, to the gods *above ground*, ἐπὶ βωμῷ, upon an Altar raised up high from the ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and the *Greeks* [b] ἱερὸν ὑψηλὸν, and [c] χοῦς ἱερὸς, as if it were a *work, vallum*, or *agger*, made up of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἐσχάρα, is set down by the *Scholiast* on *Euripides*

a Schol. in Aristoph. in Avib.
b Soph. in Tomb.
c Eurip. in Heracl.

[2] *Euripides* thus, Βωμὸς *is an Altar built up high with an aſcent of ſeverall ſteps:* ἐχάρα *is as it were one ſtep it ſelfe, after the faſhion of ſome hearths in the figure of a quadrangle.* (Juſt as they made their Λάκκοι [b] wherein they powred ſome oyle & wine, and tempered it with the duſt, to make cakes for the Divell) The occaſion given them to make this diſtinction, was the word βώμιοι ἐχάραι in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἐχάρα was there uſed in a large ſence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the *concavitie* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a βωμὸς (and ſo at the making of a ſtatue to be worſhiped) they had a cuſtome ὀπωπὸν ἱματίων χύτρας φέροντα δύειν, for women in garments of ſeverall colours, to carry about pots of ſeverall ſorts of boyled pulſe, and to offer thereof to the [b] gods. [c]

——τὰς χύτρας ἢ θεὸν
Ἱδρυσόμεθα, λαβοῦσ' ὅπῃ ἑ κεφαλὴ φέρει.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and ſo it may be called χῶμα or *tumulus*, as it uſes to be ſometimes of aſhes; ſometimes of earth and blood tempered together; ſometimes of ſtone, and ſometimes of wood. For the figure, it was ſometimes long, and ſometimes ſquare; but moſt often [d] Κυκλοτερὴς round: as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables uſed to be. The places where they made their Altars, were uſually *Mountaines* and *high-places* (ſo often objected to the heatheniſh Iſraelites) for according to the Scholiaſt upon theſe words of [e] *Sophocles*, ἢ οἵᾳ ζηνὸς ὕψιστον πάγον &c. πᾶν ὄρος τὸ Διὸς ὀνομάζεται διὰ ὑψίσου ὄντι τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὑψει δεῖ τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πρὸς αὐτόν. *Every Mountaine was called by Jupiters name, or conſecrated to Jupiter, becauſe the god being in a high place, it was fit to ſacrifice to him in a high place*, to be heard the better; as it was to the terreſtiall gods in a low, to come nearer to them. Beſides, the Altar in ſuch a place, was the leſſe in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the ſame Scholiaſt ſaies) ἀβέβηλον καὶ ἄβατον.

[a] *In Phœniſſ.*
[b] *Schol. in Ari. ſtoph. Eccleſ.*
[c] *Schol in Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*
[d] *Odyſſ. ζ.*
[e] *in Trach.*

Thirdly, In respect of time, some do say that they sacrificed to the *Hero's*, [a] ἐν δυσμαῖσιν αὐγαῖς *in the evening*, and to others in the morning.

[a] *Pindar. Isth.* Δ.

Lastly, in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either ἀπὸ ζώων of *living* creatures, properly called θυσία, or else of things *without* life; and those either ξηρῶν dry, as corne and flower, or τῶν ὑγρῶν wet, as Wine, or Milke, or Hony, usually called by the name of χοὴ. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀναιμάτου θύματα, wherein there was no blood, or ἄσπονδοι θυσίαι, (as *Thucidides* calls them) where there was no smoak, or, [c] σπονδαὶ θυσίαι, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost lik't it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ὁλοκαύτου θυσία, *a whole burnt sacrifice*. Sometimes greater then a *Suovetaurilia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a τριττὺς of a Sow, a Ramme and a Goat, I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred, notwithstanding —τελεσσάς ἑκατόμβας. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were robbed of their due: as it seems they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatning to complain of one that did so,

[b] *Scholi. in Euripi.*

[c] *Suidas.*

[d] *Aristoph. in Equit.*

[d] Καὶ τὸ φανῶ πῆς πρυτάνεσι
Ἀδικαπίνητος ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἱε-
ρεὰς ἔχοντα χοιλίας.

CAP. IV.

De generibus & formulis jurandi.

[*] *Hesiod.* [*] *Ep. ad Heb.* 6. 16.

Of an *Oath*, (the son * of *Eris*, and yet the *end* * *of all contention*) was of two sorts, *viz.* ὁ μείζων, & ὁ ἐλάσσων, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

Idem. in Theogo.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ ὅρκον μέγαν ὤμοσαν ὅρκον.

Which

Which is the cauſe why ſome fetch the word ὅρκος *an oath*, from *Orcus Hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and preſcribed by him to the reſt of the gods, when he had the aſſiſtance of *Styx*, and his ſons againſt the *Titans*; or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirſt in the fight. *Servius* ſayes (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had ſworne falſe, or broken his oath when he ſwore by *Styx*, he was to be puniſhed for it in hell nine thouſand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himſelfe ſubmitted to, and therefore took the more care how he ſware, as *Minutius* ſayes, *Deſtinatam enim ſibi cum ſuis cultoribus pœnam præſcius perhorreſcit*. He that ſwore either of theſe wayes, was properly ſaid to ὀμνύειν, and to yeeld himſelfe up to the mercy of thoſe that were able to puniſh him, if he called them to witneſſe that which was contrary to his *knowledge* or his *meaning*. So that ſometimes it was the cuſtome to adde an imprecation of ſome evill, wherewith he knew them able to puniſh him, if they ſwore falſe. As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ ζῶ ἀγέλαε, γάλακτα πατρὸς ἐμοῖο.

By *Jove, and the ſorrows of my Father*.

The *Womens* oath was commonly by *Juno*, and *by my Lady Diana*, as [a] *Clitemneſtra* uſes in *Euripides*, μὰ τὼ Λήτοιναν Ἄρτεμιν, much like the ſuperſtitious oath of *By my Lady*, among ſome of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to ſweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος with three names) *viz.* Ἰλάσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἐξακεσήριος. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Cuſtos juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, as ſome ſay it does) in the word *juſjurandum, quaſi Jovis jurandum*, it will ſufficiently be proved by the plaine teſtimony of the Poët, that ſaies,

—Ζεὺς δ' ὃς ἔρκων
Θνατοῖς ταμίας νενόμισται. *Eurip. Med. v. 170.*

But ſo farre were they from being contented to ſweare by none but *Jupiter*, that not only any *other* of the *gods*, but any of their own *men* lately dead, and thought to be defiled, did

[a] *In Electr.*

ſerve the turne : as when *Demoſthenes* ſwore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, *thoſe that valiantly dyed in the battle of Marathon.* Sometimes for overmuch haſt or confidence, or ſome ſuch reaſon, they left it to the party, to whom they ſwore, to chuſe any of the gods, whomſoever him pleaſed to be tryed by : in this manner, ὄμνυμι σὲ τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, as we ſay : *Ile lay you what you will.* This forme you may find uſed by *Plato in Phædro*, and *Ariſtenetus* in his Epiſtle of [a] *Euxithens* to *Pythias*. Sometimes they ſwore by many gods together in the plurall number, without ſpecifying whom they meant. And ſometimes by all their *twelve gods*, (as the *Lacedemonians* did by *their two* τὼ Διοσκόρω, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*) [b] μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς— by *the whole jury of the gods*, (neither honeſt nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher houſe, and *Dεos conſentes*, and ſo they put them together.) Other time againe, they ſwore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, eſpecially belonged : expreſſing his name. For ſo in the Market in buying and ſelling, or the like buſineſſe, they commonly ſwore this Oath νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν Ἀγοραῖον, *by Mercury.* But then you ſhould have ſome that out of meer *deiſidæmony*, would ſay no more then μὰ τόν, *By &c.* εὐλαβείας χάριν ἐπιδιπλοῦσι, with a [c] religious *apoſiopeſis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the *oath by an oath it ſelfe*, [d] μὰ τὸν ὅρκον. νὴ or μὰ with ναὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath: and μὰ for a negative.

a L. 2. Ep. 2.

b Ariſtoph. in Equeſt.

c Ariſtoph. in Ran.

d Pind. Nem:

CAP. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno.

THe Cuſtomes in taking a *Great* Oath, if it were in a publick manner, and by way of vindication of the truth were theſe. The Gods uſed to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in

in the Poet bids *Lacheſis* χεῖρας ἀναλῦσαι. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in ſeverall places. Men when they ſwore a great oath, laid down their hands upon the Altar, as we do upon the new Teſtament: whereas in a leſſe, or in a private oath, made to ſuch or ſuch a Man, by way of a bargain or a promiſe, according to the Roman faſhion, they laid their hand upon the hand of the party to whom they ſwore. This Ceremony, I remember, *Menelaus* in [a] *Euripides* demanded of *Helena* beſides the word of her oath.

[a] *Helen.* v. 834

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς τοῖς τῶν, λέξιας εἰμῖς δίκης.

Secondly. To honour the gods by whom they ſwore, they ſacrificed the life of *one* of thoſe three beaſts, [b] ἱερεῖα, κριὸς, and τράγος, a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goat: or all *three* of every ſort one, or three of one of the ſorts, as *Adraſtus* was made to do of three ſheep, in behalfe of the *Argivi*.

[b] *Ariſtoph in Luſiſt.*

— [c] κάμὸς τρεῖς τεμῶν μιᾶλων τμαῖν, which they called μιλοτομεῖν. Sometimes when they killed a Boare, they cut out the ſtones (ὅρκος and ὄρχις are pretty neare kin) and ſtood upon them as they ſwore. A Ramme or a Boare thus uſed is properly called τομίας. Perhaps they uſed to ſacrifice Pigs chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reaſon choyce ſhould be made of that beaſt, rather then any other in ſwearing to, ſince there was ſo great account made of it in other buſineſſes, as ſolemn as that For firſt *Jupiter* was nurſed by a Sow (ſay ſome) and concealed by the noyſe of the grunting: and therefore with the *Cretians* his country men, there might be no initiation without it. Secondly, *Varro* [d] ſaith *pecoris immolandi initium ſumptũ à ſuillo*: that it was the firſt beaſt that was ſacrificed, which made ſome think that ὗς was ſo called, *quaſi* σῦς, & *Sus quaſi Thus*. Nay it was a creature ſo greatly *ſacred*, (or imployed to a *ſacred uſe*,) that *Sacres* by it ſelfe, is uſed for little pigges conſecrated for a Sacrifice. The fleſh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in theſe was not to be

[c] *Eurip. Sup.* v. 1200.

[d] *De Re Ruſt.*

a eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fish. For either they buried it in the b ground, or else threw it into the Sea: as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was sacrificed at an oath of *Agamemnon*.

a *Aristoph. in Lysist.*
b *Eustath. in Il. γ.*

CAP. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

Μικρὸς ὅρκος, or the little oath, was when they swore by a creature (and their *gods* were hardly so much) such as *per Gramben*, or by a Goose or a Dogge, κύνα or χῆνα, as the Socraticks did, having that practise commended to them by their owne Master: who (as it is in the Scholies upon *Aristophanes*) in his twelfth Book περὶ Κρητικῶν, had told them that *Radamanthus* the justest man that ever lived, had expresly forbid them to sweare by the gods; but instead thereof had allowed them the use of a Dogge or a Goose, or a Ramme, or such like creatures. Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as *Hippolitus* does, in *Euripides*.

c In Avib.

—ᾧ πόδον χθονὸς ὄμνυμι.

d *V.* 1025.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made use of. If the matter were serious, you might hear them swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil*.

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat.

e Li.

Which was the reason (saies *Athenæus*) first, why they accounted the head ἱερόν τι, *holy and sacred*. 2ly, Why they did προσκυνεῖν τοὺ πταρμοὺς, *bow* the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly, Why the old Philosophers made such a scruple to eate of the head of any kind of creature. And 4ly, Why they used this oath but seldome, accounting it ἀγοὸν ὅρκον, as *Helena* called it when she swore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not her own. Ἀλλ' ἀγοὸν ὅρκον σὺν κόρᾳ καπνώσετε.

The

The Customes used both in the Little and Great Oaths too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were sometimes, creeping upon their hands thorough the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (μυδρὸν they called it, such a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Schollar *Euripides* [a] took the Sunne to be) supposing (as the Scholiast saies upon *Sophocles*) τὸν μὴ ἀνόχως τοῦ ἁμαρτήματι ἐν τύποις μὴ ἀλγεῖν, *that if they were not guilty of the crime, they should not be sensible of the pain.* Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polinices*. The like custome, we read to have been in use among the Saxon ancestors, and for the same purpose, under the name of *Fire Ordeal*. For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confessor, passing blindfolded in the spaces between a great many red-hot Plow-shares laid on the ground: and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the second holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, received no hurt thereby, cleared themselves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they tooke the Iron and threw it into the Sea, solemnly vowing to keep the *Oath* without *breaking*, as long as the Sea should the Iron without *swimming*.

[a] *Schol. Eurip. in Hel.*

—μέχρι τε μίνυ μίγας εἰν ἁλὶ μυδρός. [b]

[b] *Callimach.*

Sometimes (as I have known Boyes do among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it swam, and the water could endure it, he swore true; but if it sunk, and the water would not suffer it to be seen, he was to be punished immediately without more adoe. And this puts me in mind of the League with the Athenians, which the Poet saies, they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be sent to Delphos to *Apollo*, to be there kept for a testimony, and a memoriall.

Μνημεῖα δ' ὅρκων, μαρτύρημα δ' Ἑλλάδι.

to be produced when occasion should require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his eighth book *de Clitophontis*, & *Leucippes amoribus*) speakes of a custome, if a Wench were accused of Whore-

Whoredome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, and having written the oath in a table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhinnes, with the table about her neck. If ſhe were chaſt, and had ſworne true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (ſais he) *the very water growes angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it goe up as high as her neck, and cover the table; leſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe oath, ſhould looke the Sun, and the World in the face.*

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed; Inſomuch that ἔνορκος, was commonly uſed for εὐσεβὴς,

a In Plut. Οὐδέ τι εὔορκον χάρεις ἔστιν οὔτε δίκαιον. in *Heſiod.*

and —εἰ μὴ χαίρεις ἐνόρκοις πρόσει. in *Ariſtophanes.*

Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπίορκος *perjurious*. And therefore *Ariſtophanes* (*in nubibus*) ſpeaking of *Jupiters* lightnings and thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid, that they did more hurt to the *wicked* then to others, ſaies he, εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, *if perjured men are only lyable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſſe that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poore Oake tree is ſo often hurt,* ὦ γὰρ δρῦς ἐπιορκεῖ, *ſince it can never be perjur'd.* Such as were common and cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making, as well as ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀσκηταί from Ἄσκησις (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the oaths uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walk the round,

b *Dich.* for that purpoſe: according to that of b *Heſiod.*

Ἐν πέμπτῃ γὰρ φασὶν ἐείσιναι ἀμφιπολεύειν.

Οἵ κου τίτυον μὲν —

and

and therefore *Agamemnon*, when he ſwore that he never had to do with *Briſeis*, called the Furies to witneſſe too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*.

——— Ἐρινύες αἵθ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅστις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.

Nay in ſome places, the inſenſible creatures ſeemed to be ſenſible of the ſinne, and ſave the Furies a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City in *Cicily*, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there roſe ſometimes flames, and ſometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people uſed to reſort from other places, for deciding of controverſies by taking an oath. For if any one ſwore falſe near theſe fonts, he was preſently ſtrucken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Beſides theſe, there were other means of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος, πάντων ὑπόσα ἀγάλματα δὴ ἐς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the moſt dreadfull manner of any, *viz.* with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of braſſe at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegiacal verſes, compoſed of purpoſe to terrify ſuch as durſt to invocate that god in falſhood. All this moved the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet ſaid of them *Pauſan. in Eliac.*

Ὅσσιον ἦτορ βωσοί, ὅτε πίσις, ἦδ' ὅρκος μίνει.

Which you will ſay is very likely, if you remember the ſaying of *Lyſander*, one of their own Generals, ἐξαπατᾶν χρῆναι παῖδας ἐν ἀστραγάλοις, πολεμίους δ' ὅρκοις, *fallere oportet pueros aſtragalis, hoſtes autem juramentis.*

SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leſchis, & de tempore victûs capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an *Athenian* were charitable, *and ſo he died*) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poor, and among his companions as *merry as a Greek*. Of the goodneſs of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant teſtimonies, whereby I ſhall make it appear, how tender hearted they were, not onely to men in *philanthropy*, but even to bruit Beaſts. For the firſt you may hear it from *Demoſthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not ſo ſafe for ſuch expreſſions) they brought going on the way, & carried every one ſomething under his arme, to furniſh him for his journey, inſomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρειν δυνήσομαι τοιαύτην ἀπολειπόμενον πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐχθροί, ὅτις οὐκ ἄντις ἀλλαχοῦ φίλους εὑρήσει. *How ſhall I endure to leave ſuch a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where elſe?* For the laſt you ſhall have two pretty inſtances, as I had them from the ſame Author. The firſt is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expell'd the houſe for killing a Sparrow, which being purſued by another bird fled into his boſome for ſhelter: Ὡς οὐκ ὄπα δεδιότα, ſaies

a Phoc. ad 1591.

(saies he) *as if he had not done righteous things.* ὐχὲ ἵνα τι δίκαιον χάριν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δ' ἰσημόντος τῶν τρόπων, not so much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions The last is of one *Praxitiles*, whom for skinning of a Ram alive, they punished much after the same manner, as the Ramme was, ἀποδυμαίσιον. The goodnesse of his nature among his companions, appeared either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and discourse. For there is εὐωχὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, saies *Theophrastus*, *good cheer* in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Aristophanes* calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα *eating of words*, *Plautus*, *comedere sermones*. And it may be they might be made sometimes to eat their words indeed, if they parted with so much as by all mens report they did. For they were so λογοποιοὶ (as the Character terms them) so imployed ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τοὺς λόγους, *in disseminandis & spargendis rumoribus*; and were so much given to spend their time in nothing else, but either *to hear or tell some new thing*, *that I wonder with what face, they could call St. *Paul* Σπερμολόγον. Though I know some do rather chuse to fetch the word from λέγειν *to gather*, as the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be τοὺς εἰς τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας καὶ τὰ ἐκ φορτίων διαπίπτοντα συναλεγομένους, *such as watch for loose things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up.* The places where they met and discourse were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better sort: or Trades-mens shops for the meaner, like the Roman *Tabernæ*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos.* Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in the shops and the places themselves, and the confabulations therein, they called Λέσχας· καχρὰ τὰ λέσχαι saith *Euripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durst call the convention indicted by the King by the name of λέσχη too. Now those shops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb Κυριακὴ λαλία used by *Polybius*, i.e. *Barbers talke*, (as we say) *Lye like a tooth drawer.* But especially Smiths, and such as made use of a Fire; being free for any that would warme them-

Theophr.

*Act. 17.21.

ſelves, and without any doores, as the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words in *Heſiod.l.2* Concerning χαλκεῖον δῶκον &c. Τὸ παλαιὸν (ſaies he) τὰ χαλκεῖα καὶ παίγνια τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἄθυρα ἦν, ἃ καὶ λέσχας ἐκάλουν. And to this belongs that of *Homer*.

Οὐδὲ θύλεις ἔνδοθεν χαλκηίον εἰς δόμον ἐλθὼν
Ἡέπια εἰς λέσχην.

Il. Θ. & Σ.

The diſcourſe was for the moſt part *de Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or *de Gerris Siculis*, childiſh and idle, well befitting ſuch *Geruli figuli*, as moſt of them were. But the Philoſophers that met in the λέσχαι which *Hierocles* ſpeaks of, had better diſcourſe. Theſe places were conſecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore ſaid to have the name of Λεσχηνόριος (ſo ſaith *Suidas*; but it ſhould be rather Λεσχηνέριος, ſaies *Meurſius*) the reaſon was, becauſe ſuch meetings were, or ſhould be in the day time: and ſometimes in the *Sun*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a ſet meale amongſt *themſelves*, was anciently, but once a day at ſupper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* in ſeveral places) it is not eaſie to determine. Some ſay there were four meales a day, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα or ἀριστισμὸς, the *Breakfaſt*. 2. Ἄριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. Δεῖπνον, the *Beaver*. 4. Δόρπον, the *Supper*. Juſt ſo many *Athenæus* has, but in this order, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα. 2. Δεῖπνον. 3. Ἐσπερίσια, or (*Veſperna*) 4. Δόρπον. Others make but theſe three. 1. Ἄριστον. 2. Δεῖπνον. 3. Δόρπον. You ſee that Δόρπον is the laſt meale ſtill, and ſo it is in *Ariſtophanes*, who after δορπὸς *ſupper time*, makes it to be preſently *Bed-time*. To any of theſe meales if they came too late they called it παραδειπνίζω, or ἐφαψωνῶν. Which they need not fear, if they had a Bell to call them, as *Plutarch* ſaies they had in the Fiſh-market, and therefore terms thoſe, whoſe bellies had no eares, but for the *Bell*, κωφοὺς ὄξεως ἀκούοντας.

Ex Veſp.

Sympoſ. c. 4.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THeir merriment with *others* was when they kept a feast. And thus to spend their mony, was especially called ἀναλίσκειν, and δαπανᾶν: the merriment it selfe, by the name of [a] ἥβη. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* ministring to the Gods at a feast; and from whence ἐφύδριον came to be used for a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feast was of three [b] kinds, 1. Ἔρανος, 2. Γάμος, 3. Ἐλαπίνη. Ἔρανος, otherwise called [c] συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς ἤγουν καταβολῆς καὶ δαπάνης πολλῶν πρῶν, was when they joyned or clubbed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolum* his *part*, or else lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawn*, or his *earnest* with the master of the feast. The earnest was commonly a ring, as *Terence* saies, *dari annuli, locus, tempus constitutum*. And sometimes any other thing: Which he that laid out the money for the feast, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to sell, or do what he would with it. The reason why it was not so costly, and those that were at it, did eat so sparingly, ὡς ἂν ἴδιον ἑκάστου δεῖπνον, was because every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called [d] αὐτόδουτοι *Sodales*: Sometimes they call such a feasting καταβολὴν, from *joyning* as we say, or *clubbing*, or *casting* every one his *lot* into one purse, καλοῦσι καταβολὰ, ὅταν κοινῶς δίδωσι δαπάνην συμποσίαζοντες, saies *Tzetzes* upon *Hesiod*. And so likewise sometimes ἀπὸ σπορᾶς δεῖπνον, from σπείρειν, because the charges came *scattered*, or *sown* by several hands, which is resembled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly ὁ θίασος (they say) has been used for the same, θιασῶνα for the company.

[a] *Schol. in Aristoph. Vesp.*
[b] *Eustathius. in Hom.*
[c] *Aristoph. & Schol.*
[d] *Id. ibid.*
[e] *Festus.*
[f] *L. 2.*
Athen. l. 8.

Of this way of Feasting, you have a brieſe and large commendation in *Hesiod*.

Μηδ' ἑορτὴν ἑαυτὸς ἀναπέμπεσθαι θύων;
Ἐκ κοινῶν πλείστη χάρις, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ τ' ὀλίγιστα.

Be not averse from common feasts; for there
The charge the least is, and the most the cheer.

Sometimes you should have a covetous fellow make his γάμον, his very *wedding dinner*, in the manner of an ἔρανος: and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be οἰκοφόρητος, (as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a warfare at his own cost.*) This kind of feasting (I think) may very well be named πανδαισία, for *that* is either when there is meat of *all sorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they sit *higly pigly*, and every one takes where he likes. Ἐιλαπίνη (for of γάμος we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly πολυτελὴς. It was thus called either 1. From λάπτειν the *lapping and tipling* in it, or 2. From their gathering together, or sitting in *companies*; ὅτι χορὸν εἶλαι, ἢ ὁμοῦ εἱλίσσεσθαι ἔπνον, or, 3. From εἵλαι, the *vertigines* or *rounds* used in dances ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἵλαι. The company at such a feast were called εἱλαπινεταί. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνίτιδι, unless it were to accompany some of their very near friends: according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his Book: *Nam neq; in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorũ, neq; sedet nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus.* The usual customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain officers appointed for the purpose to discommon them: And to them the Cooks were to repair, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an εὐθύνης too, to see how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἄνους or intemperate, he was to be punish'd by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times, to call the Greeks μυροτρεφεῖς

and

a *In Crass.*

* *Schol. in Aristoph. Pace.*

* *Pindar.*

and συλλυπᾶσθαι, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed ſuch bite-figges, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to paſſe that *Cookery* was ſo much in requeſt among them; (τιμᾶται γὴ ἡ μαγειρικὴ, it is an honourable profeſſion ſaies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Phyſick, Aſtronomy, and Geometry, was thought ſo requiſite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook ſhould be one of the chief officers at a Sacrifice, as they ſay he was? the laſt indeed, was very convenient, ſince a Sacrifice and a feaſt ſo well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or inſtead of invitations they ſent their friends a peice of the victime. L. 4.

—ἡ τὸ δ' ὀπτὰς
Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μόρσιμι καλὸν κρέας αὐτίκα πέμψον.
—as ſoon as you
To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Morſon* too.

CAP. III.

De more ſalutandi, Sympoſiarchâ, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de menſis.

WHen the gueſts were come, the manner of ſalutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kiſſe them; and ſuch a kiſſe as this they called χύτρα a *pot*. The faſhion of kiſſing the lips was but of latter daies, and *oſculum* may be *oſculum* upon any thing ſo it be from the *mouth*. Anciently they uſed to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and ſometimes upon the head, or the ſhoulder, or the neck like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an imbracing of the body: as *Xuthus* deſired to do to *Ion*. *Pollux. l. 9. c. 24.*

δὸς χεῖρ' ἐλαφρὰ σὴν ἐμοὶ χερὸς λαβεῖν, περισταλῶ τ' ἀμφὶ σῷ χροΐ. *Eurip. Ion. v. 578.*

Embracing was the moſt uſuall ſalutation. Inſomuch that (if you will believe the *Scholy) the word ἀσπάζεσθαι uſed to ſignifie to *Salute*, does properly ſignifie to *embrace*, as being derived *On Ariſoph. Plut.*

derived(saies he) ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαν αὐτὸν θυμοειδοῦς ἑαυτὸν τ ἕτερον. The compellation to such as they respected was usually πῶς, *vir honeste, worthy Sir*, rather then Κύριε, *Domine*, or *Master*.

Eurip. in suppl. ——— ὃς ἐυτυχήσει, πῖμ' ἀραίρεται.

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the house, and the houshold stuffe, and the like, according to *his* instructions in [a] *Aristophanes*.

a Vesp. Ἔπειτ' ἐπαινέσῃ τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων
Ὀρροῦν δ' ἄστυ—

The δειπνοκλήτωρ, the Master of the house, shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast; (for

b Pollux. l. 2. c. 1 Συμποσίαρχος the Master, was many times no more then a Master-steward, or [b] πομπὸς ἐπιστάτης the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collocation) presently had his χαρτοπάλιον brought him in by the Cook, i.e. a *note* containing the several sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Modiperator*, and the fashion yet in use in *Italy*, and among us on *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be βασιλεὺς *King*: and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes prov'd too *tyrannical*; as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow πίνειν, ἢ κατακεῖσθαι ἢ καταλῦσαι *to take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung in his face*.

c. 8.

All this while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincense and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the sense of smelling too, might have a *taste* of the mirth, (ἐνωδίαν ὀσμὴν for [c] *smell-feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the *angry noses* of the gods to whom, before they eat any thing themselves, they used to offer a taste of the best of every dish. But how they did it I know not, unless they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

c Athenæus. DN

——ἰὸν δ' ἐν πυρὶ κάλλε θυηλάς.

The

The Gueſts before they ſat down, uſed to crown their heads with Garlands, made for the moſt part of Myrtle, for ſo I remember the bold gueſt in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drink, —— στέφει δ' ὑγρᾶτα μυρσίνης κλάδοις, *bound* his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to *ſecure* it from aking, and the Romans it ſeems agree with them herein, for ſaies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto,

The uſe of theſe Garlands was too coole the head, and ſo to reſtraine the heat of the Wine. Neither did they *crown* their heads onely, but *anoint* them too, as if he had been going to *wreſtle* with the ſtrength of the liquor: for ſo ſaies *he in Veſpis*

—γυμνασικῶς
Ὑγρὸν χρίλωσον σαυτόν.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it ſeems.

---habent unctæ mollia ſerta comæ.

Uſing it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether, or to open the pores, and let them out as ſoon as they came. For the ſame end was it, that the herb *crambe* was ſo much uſed in their feaſts, as it was alſo among the Ægyptians; and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy ſaid to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, ſo great, that it will not endure to grow near it; which antipathy (ſay they) has been in it, ever ſince * *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenneſſe, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twigges, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare preſently ſprung the *crambe*, ſo called *quaſi* Κορέμβλη, from Κόρη, or *Pupillæ* the *Apples*, or the *Babies* (as we ſay) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be hurtfulll

Καταψύχοντες τὸ κεφάλιον: ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes. in Acharn.*

* ὦ. On *Ariſtoph in Equit. Act.1.Sc.3.*

Beſides anointing, there was waſhing too, both before and after meat, *that* before, had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ χεῖ χέης: the other they call ἀπονίψασθαι.

Their *posture* at eating was lying upon κλῖναι *beds* (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a ψιαθος a *matt* close by, which had bed clothes and all to sleep upon. Those κλῖναι were usually covered with skinnes: according to that in the b Poet of one that lay snorting upon a full belly.

a Poll. l. 6. c. 2.

b *Aristoph. in Eq.*

Ῥέγχει μὲν δύνων ἐν ταῖν ἐύτρωσι δύπνοις.

And sometimes with Tapistry, for the better sort: for with such *Achilles* his Embassadours are entertained in c *Homer*,

c *Il.* 10.

—τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισι The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbowes: and therefore *Silenus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they sate at meat upon the ground) θὲς ὑπὸν ἀγκῶνα εὐρυθμως, *to place his elbow handsomely*. They rewed their feet upon a ὑπῆνυς, or a *foot-stoole*: such a one as *Juno* would bestow upon *Somnus* for the same use.

Τῷ χὴν ἐπηχοίης λισσὰς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespæ*, asking how he should sit, was bid γόνατ' ἐκτείνειν, to *stretch out his knees*. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*. Unlesse the man were of a higher *stomach* then he that said, *Sit mihi mensa tripes*: for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with three legs, and a ἐπίθημα upon it, called ὅλμος (in imitation of the *Tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deale of religion: so as not to have any uncivil or prophane or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it. For why (saies *Synesius*) it *is holy* and *consecrated* to *Jupiter* ἑλίου, and ξένιος. Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* πῶς δ' ἀλεκτρυόνα τὸν τραπεζαν; πῶς κυνιδιον; And to *Juvenal's reverentia mensæ*. The e first that ever dared to prosane the *table*, were the Women that killed *Terens* his son, and served him up in the dish.

Ep. 57.

d Πρὸς τὸν ὅρον. *Sat.* 2.

e *Paus. in Phoch.*

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THe Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Masts and Acornes: for their bread at least, if not for their Meat. And there were βαλανίσται, people imployed of purpose to gather them. There was no *Cereale solum*, in those dayes, no fear of *mensas consumimus*. 'Twas enough for the luxury of *later* dayes, to make *paniceas mensas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food * *A. Gellius* saies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughs, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit. In remembrance of their oaken diet.* After mast, they lookt lower and found better food in barly. For that kind of corn was the [a] first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as [b] *Suetonius* saies, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of using corne at *first*, before that Mills came up (ὑπὸ μύλου, said to be invented by *Mylas*) was to rost it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinsere* to *beat* it, and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. Those that did this, the Romans called *pinsores*, which afterwards came to *pistores, bakers*. We read of קלי *parched stuffe* among the Israelites too, even there where we read of flower, and so it was not for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deale concerning them; as likewise of their usual dishes at feasts, both of fish and flesh. But you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little paine, and lesse profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beast, the braine might by no means be seen upon a table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eate a *beane*: and thought that none but he that had lost his senses, would offer to devour that, from

Virg. Æn.

* *L. 5. c. 6.*

a *Artemidor. l. 1. c. 71.*
b *In Aug. c. 24.*

Serv. ad Æn. 1.
2 Sam. c. 17. v. 38.

which all the *ſences* had their *life*. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *brain* might not be in their mouthes to *ſpeak* it, as well as to eate
In Trachin. it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he ſpeaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the ſea, and daſhing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the brain *white marrow of his head.*

Κύων ϛ λευκὸν μυελὸν ἐκχεῖται μέτω
Κρατὸς—

Hecuba in *Euripides* ſpeaking of *Aſtyanax* his throwing down from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the ſame manner, calling it ὀστῶν ῥαγέντων φόνον, adding withall ἴν' αἰσχρὰ μὴ λέγω *with reverence be it ſpoken.*

But as for the Entrals, ὁλύραι, no diſh ſo common as that: inſomuch that you ſhould have ſome covetous fellowes make a feaſt of nothing elſe. Such a feaſt they called more peculiarly ἔλεον, or ναυτικὸν τραπέζιον. The meat was ſerved up in diſhes of wood, or of braſſe (for the better ſort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drink*, which they had at feaſts during meale time, was uſually wine mingled with water to allay the ſtrength of it. And this mixture they ſay was the invention of *Amphyction* (him whom they report to have firſt inſtituted the meeting of the ſeven Cities called *Concilium Amphyctyonicum*)
* L. 15. but I have another ſtory for you from *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Phyſitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* firſt brought his Vines from the *Red-ſea* into *Greece*, the people came preſently flocking to the Sea ſide, and fell ſo immoderately to the liquor, that ſome became dead drunk, and ſome raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a ſudden tempeſtuous ſhowre, when they returned again, found ſome of the raine *mingled* with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, τοσοῦτῳ ϛ ἄλυπον ἔσχον ὑπόλειμμα, notwithſtanding found no ſuch effects as the former did, but continued ſober. This (they ſay) is the reaſon that at the firſt bringing in of the κεκραμένον, or

mixed

mixed wine to the table, they used to remember Διὶ Σοτῆρι, *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, and the *mixture*. To which they added the *health* called Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου, if the feast were a *victors* feast; and ἀρέσκοντι γάμῳ, if it were a Wedding: altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seems to make the third round to be to *Jupiter Servator*

—καὶ Διὸς σωτῆρος

Στοιβὴ τέτακται δεσπότης.

Presently after meale came in ἄκρατον the Wine *in puris naturalibus*, whereof (it may be) προόμιον, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the *first taste* before they went to eating used to be. The great *Crater* being filled, the *Sympositarch* began a health, either to the *good genius* (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the *goodly* god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος: and so to drink it ἐπιῤῥοφεῖν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, make it a religious businesse, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink-offering, as he saies Σπονδὴν λαβὼν, καὶ σπεῖσον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. And many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαῖμον ἀγαθέ. Some say, this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it, and therefore *Hesychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαιμονίσαι for ὀλιγοποτίσαι, *little drinkers*. The last health of all, which they drank just as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames

—Ἀγειφόντῃ

Οἱ πυμάτῳ κοιτὸν δίδυσιν.

for that was the reason (saies *Athenæus*) διὰ τὴν Ἑρμοῦ ὕπνου φυσικότητα. Yet some say it was διὸς πλεύμων. Ἀσκὸς, the bottle or vessel out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinne of a Boare. And therefore in *Lysistrate* (*Aristophanis*) it is called by the name of κάπρος, and the Wine αἷμα *blood*, and the powring out σφαγὴ *slaughter*, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

Aristoph. in Eq.

* In Vesp.

When one friend drank to another, they called it φιλαλήσιον κύλικα, or φιλοτησίαν *a cup of good friendship*: and such kind of expressions ἀξιώσεις, *takings*, or *pledgings*: according to that

χρ-

——χρυσείῃς δεπάεσσι
δεξιὸν ἀλλήλοις— And thus if a

great man kept the feast, when he drank to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved (ἐρωμένῳ or φίλῳ his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himself, and bestowed the rest upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would sit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himself waking till morning, had a πυραμίς, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, just as the women use to have in the *Thesmophoria*. In such mad fits as these, they were wont to have γρῖφοι riddles proposed: which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unless he had leave, (perhaps it was unless he *took* his leave) of the Master of the feast. And here I might easily speak enough of their κότταβοι, but I think a *little* is sufficient, and *that* I have done already.

Now the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Buls horns, ἐν τοῖς κέρασι, saies the Scholiast upon *Nicander*, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ κερᾶσαι. Insomuch that the word κεράσαι, to fill drink, seemed to be derived from κέρατα these *hornes*. Scilicet. Hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with *Bull-hornes*. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which occasioned some to call him down-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull. And the reason of those phancies was (saies the Scholiast) διὰ τὸ ταυρωτικὸν εἶδος πινόντων, τοῦτέστι, πλῶν· ἔχει γὰρ τὰ ὦτα ἴχνη for the strange (saies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of those that use his Liquor. But the best is, *dat Deus immiti cornua curta bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they seem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his sake too, no question, to whom the wood belongs) Ποτῆρα δ' ἐκ χείρεσιν κισσοῦ λαβών. Eurip. Alc. v. 756.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solebant.

FOr their behaviour at table, ſpitting and coughing, and ſpeaking loud, was counted uncivil in any, but a Gentleman (as we ſay in the Univerſity that nothing is freſh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory ἀν' ὑακρὲ πτύειν, ſaies *Stobæus*, to *ſpit ſtoutly*, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clarè excreare*; as it is among us for great men to ſit and eat careleſly. But *paring of nailes* was ſuch a *ſordid* thing, that no gentility could bear it out. *Heſiod* (as tis thought) long ſince *abominated* the *incivility*, or what ſhall I call it, to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πανταίζοιο ξυὸν ἐπὶ δαιτὶ δαλεῖσθαι
Ἄκτον ἀπὸ χλωρῆ τάμνειν αἰδοῖα σιδήρῳ.

Nor from the *five-branchd-green* do with a knife
At feaſting cut the *wither'd* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his παῖς, or his *Pedee*, to whom they uſed to deliver τὰ ἀποφορητὰ, choice bits, or ſuch dainties as they liked beſt, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſſe it was counted ſomewhat *baſe*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feaſt indeed, and *open* houſe. Thoſe boyes or ſervants were commonly *Black-moores*, after the faſhion of the Romans,

—*tibi pocula curſor*
Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus oſſea Mauri.

Your *ἀκεῖσθαι portions*, which we read of, were another thing, as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choiceſt diſhes at a feaſt, ſent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were abſent. For ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he ſacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acharnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding.

Ἐπιψή τε σοι νύμφιος ταυτὶ χρέα
Ἐκ τῶν γάμων.

And

And indeed not onely the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their
1 Sam. 1. 4. friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices) as* *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and alſo at feaſts (as thoſe were bid
a Nehem. c. 8. 10. to do by a *Nehemiah*) uſed to ſend מנות *portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared.* When they had greaſed their fingers, they would take a piece of ſoft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tanquam canis vivens è magdalia*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for ſo they called ſuch a piece of bread from ἀπομάσσειν *to wipe*; ſuch a thing as their Cooks σπᾶς or χειρόμακτρον, a piece of *courſe bread*, which they had for the ſame uſe.

The *deſert* conſiſted of *nuts* and *fruit*, and all ſorts of *junkets*:
b or ἐπαΐκλα. they called this ſervice by the ſeveral names of bἐπικλα, τραγήματα, ὀπτοφρύματα, ὀπτοπαιζώματα, ὀπιδόρπισμα, ὑπαδόρπια, *Epidorpiæ menſæ*. And now to *crown* all with dauncing and muſick, which *Homer* calls cἀναδήματα δαιτὸς, (uſually accompanied with ἀμοιβαῖα, *merry ſongs*, and *tales*) becauſe they themc *Coronas Convivii.* ſelves ſpent moſt time in *practiſing* it, I ſhall be bold to ſpend a little the more in relating it.

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali, & Scoliis.

ALthough *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, ſpeak againſt the uſe of Muſick at a *Feaſt*: and *Euripides* ſay, it were bet-
Odyſſ. 1. ter uſed at a *Funeral*, to make the Mourners merry: yet you ſhall find *Xenophon* himſelf (in himſelfe) *commending*, and *Phemius* (in *Homer*) *practiſing* the ſame. Now the cuſtome was when they came to dancing & the Muſick (whereas at *Mealetime* leſſe cups would ſerve) *then* to have greater, and a *freſh* bowle (κρατῆρα) to begin with, for ſuch a one they had at every *change*, if they obſerved that faſhion we read of in *Euripides*.

Ἐπὶ

Ἐπὶ δ' εἰς ἀυλὸς ἦλθεν ἐς κεφαλήν τε
Καινὸν, χέρνιβα ἕλξεν, ἁβαρβάζειν χρεὼν
Ὀνειρὰ σιδὴν ζωμρὰ. μιγαλαὶ' εἰσφέρειν. *Is Ion. v. 1177

The ſong moſt common among them was *Harmodius*: So called (juſt as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the ſame name, and as we call *our* ſongs *Chloris* and the like) becauſe it was ſung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicidæ*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the ſtrumpet *Leæna* (as *beaſtly* a name as *Lupa*) ſo faithfully loved their bodies, that when ſhe was rackt by the Tyrant, to diſcover their conſpiracies, ſhe bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and ſpit it in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλτατε Ἁρμόδιε, οὔπω τεθνηκας, &c. You have mention of it in *Ariſtophanes* his *Acharnenſes*, and his *Veſpæ*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a ſong to the praiſe of *Admetus*, (for moſt of *their* ſongs, as well as thoſe of the *Romans*, tended to the praiſe of one famous Worthy or other. (It began thus, Ἀδμήτου λόγον ὦ ἑταῖρε μαθὼν, ὡς ἀγαθὸς εἶλε, δεῖλ' δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχει &c. where you may obſerve the oppoſing ἀγαθὸς to δειλὸς. For ſo you ſhall find κακὸς, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour* and *fortitude*, the onely *virtue* worthy the name. Beſides theſe two which I have named, you ſhall find a great many more ſuch in Authors, under the name of Σκόλια. I ſhall only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, againſt *riches*.

Ὤφελες ὦ πυφλὲ πλοῦτε
Μήτ' ὸν γῆ μήτ' ὲν θαλάσσᾳ μήτ' ὲν Ἠπείρῳ
Φανήμεναι.
Ἀλλὰ τάρταρόν τε ναίειν κ' Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ σὲ βροτῶν ὲν ἀνθρώποις κακόν. *Vid. q. in Ariſt. pb. Ran.*

Thoſe kind of ſongs which they called Σκόλια, were firſt invented by one *Terpander*. They were ſo called either firſt *Plutarch. de muſ.*

διὰ τὴν τῶν κλινῶν σκολιὰν (saies the Scholiast upon *Ranæ*,) from the *crooked* placing of the beds, and the lying of the guests upon them. Or else 2. (as the Scholy saies upon the same Poet in *Vespis*) from the *flexuous* disorderly manner in the singing. For there were in use among the Greeks (saies * Schol. in Ran. *Dicæarchus* περὶ μουσικῶν Ἀγώνων) three wayes of singing songs at such meetings, the first ἅμα πάντων, by all together. the 2. καθ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they sate, the 3. one after another, but ἐναλλὰξ, not in order, and ἅμα συνεπιπάτων, either by such as had best skill, or by such as he that sung last, should please to choose. I say to choose, for in singing a *Scholiũ*, as tis properly used, this was the custome. He that *Scholied* first took him a Myrtle rod, called αἴτακος from ἄττω and ἴσχειν, & holding it in his hand like a *thyrsus* (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*,) begun in any place of *Simonides*, or *Stesichorus*, or *Æschylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleased. The verses which they sung, they called by the name of ῥαψῳδία, or ῥαβδῳδία, or σιχῳδία, from the σίχοι, or the rods, as being *apta virgæ*, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to go on where the tother left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off best, and have *Eustath.* Il. 1. *capt* the rest, had his ᾠδεῖον (as they called it) *i. e.* a *cup*, or some such thing for his reward. Unless they sung some of *Homers* verses, for then both the bough was *Lawrel*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called ἀμνῳδοὶ, as well as *Homeristæ*. Others say it was the custome presently after the taking away, to have a harp to go from one to another, and * *Aristoph.* *in Nub.* every one as he was best able, or as his mind gave him, to sing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand besides. A third reason of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) *viz*, because the *eye*, and the *understanding* of those that sung, were by over strong drink become σκολιοὶ, or διεστραμμένοι, *distort-*

distorted, as they are in Mad-men (διαμάτων ὀρθῶν, & ὀρθῆς φρενὸς, right eyes, and a right mind, are put [a] together in the *Poet.*)

4. The song was called Σκόλιον, (saies the [b] Scholiast) by the Figure *Antiphrasis*, because it was least difficult of any, and ὠιδὴ ὀλιγόστιχον, *consisting but of a few staves.* But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὸ δὲ δύσφημα ὅτι τὸ εὐσημότερον καταλαμβάνει, ὃ ἐπὶ τῶν παλαι, *because that figure Antiphrasis, is always by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name. Origen* (they say) wrot a Poem, wherein he briefly comprized all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia.* [c] *Pericles* is said to have made his Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies.* I think not for any obscurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

[a] *Soph. in Oed. Tyr.*
[b] *In Ranis.*
[c] *Arist. in Ran.*

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not opposed (whatever it may seem to be) to that which they call τὸ ὄρθιον ὠιδὴ (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the *Scolies* could not) so called, not because it was sung *right* along and in order: but either because the persons sung ὄρθια, that is, (as *Suidas* expounds it) *altâ & erectâ voce, with a long blast*, (like *the trumpet in Judges c. 7. 5.*) or because it was sung κατὰ νόμον ὄρθιον, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* saies *Arion* plaid after that way upon the ship, and *Eustathius* and *Suidas*, say that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander*, πάντα Ἀρεϊκὰ ἐπλησεν &c. *So moved his spirits, that he leapt immediately to his armes and took them up to fight.* Instead of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none so soon as *Menanders.*

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableness and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they say was the use as they made of them) they had their σύματα, *oscilla*, or *osficula*, like those which they use at *Rome* at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as [d] *Augustus* is said to have plaid with (*talis aut osficulis ludebat cum pueris*) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes they

[d] *Suet.*

they would yield you a thousand shapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feast thrown those things on the table, presently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might.

Heu, heu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est?
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.

And just so the Ægyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in bid every one πίνε καὶ τέρπου, ἔσῃ γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος, *to eat and drink, for to morrow he should die.* Herod. l. 2.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Guest* or for an *Alien*, so it were not a *God*, was alwaies had in so religious esteem at *Athens*, ὡς ἀνόσιον καὶ ἐναγῆ δεῖν εἶναι τὸν ἂν κακώσῃ τινὰ ξένον, *that* (as the *Scholie* saith upon * *Euripides*) *if any one wronged a stranger*, he *was looked upon as a profane cursed fellow*: according to the Poet himself in another *place.

—Let go the strangers hands,
Which being sacred may not be in bands.

* In Helen.

* In Taur. v. 468.

And good reason, for —πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες ξένοι— all strangers have *Jupiters* own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* so *malus*, as ξενοπάτης. Now this esteeme they had. First in obedience to the Lawes of Ζεὺς ξένιος, or ξυξενος, you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for * *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Jovis hospitis ara*, an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospitall people, for *their brutish inhumanity*, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastas*, bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius*, as much as he was for the *strangers*, was notwithstanding better *known* and honoured then any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, ξένιος Διὸς τιμαὶ

* L. 10. Fab. 6.

χ

ὡς μᾶλλον, as if he had cared more for them then other people.

Iupiter, hoſpitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur. *Virg. Æn. 1.*

I remember indeed once to ſhew how well he was pleaſed with that virtue of hoſpitality, being in his travels in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body elſe would receive him, in requital thereof he preſerved the houſe from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expreſly commanded them τοὺς ξένους μὴ ἀδικεῖν, *not to wrong a ſtranger.* And this made *Ariſtippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, preſently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay ſaies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis ſancitum eſt &c.* (ſpeaking of refuſall to ſhew a ſtranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations.* *Xenoph. l. 3. Απομν.* *L. de Offic.*

If a *ſtranger* had received any wrong (becauſe they might not be ſo *familiar* as to do it themſelves) there were πρόξενοι, allowed of purpoſe to plead for them, as well as ξένοδοκοι to entertain them. Unleſſe you will ſay that theſe laſt officers were not for ξένοι, that is *hoſpites*, ſuch as tarried a while and away; but for ξένοι, that is μέτοικοι, *inquilini*, ſuch as ſet up their habitation in the place where they came. For thoſe were made to pay their μετοίκιον, an yearly rent to the City, the men twelve, and the * Women ſix Drachmes: which if they did not pay, they ſold them, and put them into the ſhips for Gally ſlaves, as not reckoning them *clean* corne, and true Citizens, any more then * *Ariſtotle*; but onely in the words of *Ariſtophanes*) ἄλυρα τῆς ἀσπίδος, *the outcaſts and chaffe*, and no more. Even the *Cretians* themſelves (as *evill beaſts* as they were) ſeem to have had *humanity* enough in this reſpect. Otherwiſe what meant their ξενικὰ τραπέζα, two diſtinct Tables, aud a Chamber kept a purpoſe for ſtrangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, ſo much valued the hoſpitality ſhewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to ſpare his houſe alone. **Iſæus contr. Elpagor.* *L. 3. Polit.* *Athenæus.*

I muſt confeſſe indeed the *Lacedemonians* bear but ill for their ξενηλασία, and *Lycurgus* his Law againſt admittance of ſtrangers, but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *pace*) brand them with the name of δειλοὶ ξένοι. Nay it is ſaid how that they never made any λεωσφετέρους, (as they called it) *free of their City*, but onely two, *viz. Tiſamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But I ſtill hope, their ξένοι *ſtrangers*, were all one with οἱ βάρβαροι *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often uſed, ſaies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*. For elſe certainly *Plato* would never have given ſuch commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of (as we uſually take it) *policy*, as it is inconſiſtent with the *name* of πολιτικὴ, to care moſt for ones *private* good.

CAP. VIII.

De Hoſpitibus excipiendis.

IF the *Athenians* were ſo kind τοῖς ξένοις, to *every ſtranger*, properly ſo called what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδιοξένοις, to their *own ſtrangers* (as we uſe to call it) or to their ſworn *gueſts*? Thoſe had their ἀσπάλαθον, or σύμβολον, or *teſſeram hoſpitii*, ſomething or other like a a ticket, to ſhew for their quarter when they came: ſuch as *Jaſon* in curteſy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοις τε πίμπλειν σύμβολ' οἱ δεδόσεσθ' ἔσ' ἴσον.

So farre were the ξενοδόχοι, thoſe that entertained gueſts (you may call them ξένους too, for it is a name for both, like *hoſpes*, perhaps to ſhew their near relation) from ſo much as ſuſpecting a returne of hatred for kindneſſe, that it coſt *Dio* no leſſe then his life. Who though he were forewarned of an intention of *Callippus* his gueſt to murther him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυνθεὶς, *being aſhamed* (ſaies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de vitioſo pudore*) φιλάνθρωπος φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον, to *be-*

ware

ware of one that was his friend and *guest* too (as if *that* were more.)

The manner of entertaining a ſtranger was this. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him, [a]δεῖπνον ἐπαγγέλλοντο ϕῶτι, the firſt care they had, was to have ſomewhat for him to eate. *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cœnam*, ſaies [b]*Terence*. When he came to the doore (as ſome ſay) they both joyned *feet* on the threſhold, and there mutually engaged themſelves to be true and truſty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad hoſtium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* And therefore *Hoſpes* is ſaid to be derived from *hoſtium*, or *oſtium* a *door*, and *pes* a *foot*. When he came in, they called for the *Strangers bottle* (as he ſaies in [c]*Electra*, ἀσκὸν δ' ὦ φέρω ξένοις) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (ſaith *Athenæus*) ὡς τῷ ξενίᾳ τὴν αὐτὴν τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' ἐ τοῦ ἐν μέρει, *as giving him honour, becauſe he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* Now they uſed Wine, rather then any other liquor (ſaies the ſame Author (becauſe they took it to be, ἀλκυστικόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, παραθερμαῖνον ϕυχὴν &c. *Powerful to warme the affection too as well as the ſtomack.*

a *Pindar.*

b *In Heaut.*

Vetus Diction.

c *Euripid. v.* 511.

Idem.

Ibid.

The next thing they preſented him with, was Salt: intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſo ſeaſoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet. All the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect he had. They made their own Daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him water in a Baſin, and waſh his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by ſeveral places in *Homer* both obſerved and approved by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient cuſtome πρεπεῖ Ὀυηρῷ καὶ τὰς κόρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας λυέσας τοὺ ξένους; ἀρχαῖον δὲ ἦτο ἔθος (ſaith he.) 2. They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers a part from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* coming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted αἶσχρὸν, ſo unfit

* L. 1.

d *V.* 545.

unfit to be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there saies) was therefore about to be gone again, replyed; *no such need, good Hercules, notwithstanding the mourning in th. house.*

Χωρὶς ξενῶνες εἰσὶν, οἷς σ' ἐσαξόμεν. *For we have Chambers on the other side of the house, which we keep onely for strangers, and you shall be there.*

3ly, When they sate at Meales, they had a table also to themselves: as may be conjectured by that which *Orestes* had at his being at *Athens.*

Eurip. Electr. v. 849.

—ξένια μονοτραπέζα μοι
Παρῆσαν οἴκων

Lastly they had τὰς Κερκίδας *places* allowed them at the *shewes*, iustituted by *Sphyromachus.* Therefore to return respect againe to the people of the house: as at his coming into the Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse.

Ovid. Met. l. 3.

Cadmus agit grates, peregrinæque oscula terræ
Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosque salutat.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine Service, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς unto *their* gods especially, or the gods of the *place*: as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*: and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to do θεοῖς τοῖς κτησίοις, (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the *house.* In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when he came to the borders he kissed the ground, and so took his leave of the *Genius*: as *Ovid* saies.

Id. Herc. v. 609

Met. l. 13.

—dant oscula terræ Troades—

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detaine him. *Menelaus* accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξένον πομπὴν τε φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντα θ' ἑπέσθαι.

And parting they usually gave ξενήϊα δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, some thing or other for a remembrance, or to bear their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there

was

was πανδοχεῖον, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murtherer or such like person, they might not by any means πυεὶ δέχεσθαι (as he calls it) entertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aqua & igni interdictum.*

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus sublevandis.

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also, of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poor. And certainly if they intended no more then the *Honour of their City*, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; *of whom *Isocrates* saies in his *Areopag.* τὴν πόλιν καταισχύνει, *that he is a disparagement to the City wherein he lives.* To prevent the disgrace, every ἑταιρεία or *Society*, kept a *poor mans box*, or a common Treasury, for the relieife of such as came to poverty, and the ransome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they used συμφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranum* (as *Plautus* saies *eranum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἐράνων πλήρωσαι. He that thus came to a *gathering* (as we call it) was said συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τὸ ἔρανον, as in *Aristotle* (*Acroas. l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this instance of a thing κατὰ τύχην, *that happened by chance*; if a creditor, ἵνα τῷ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον ἦλθεν ἂν κομιζούμενος τὸ ἔρανον, *with his Bond in his hand should come to his debtor for money, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the parish* (as we say) *for a collection.* Such another contribution was that which they called ἔρανον ταπεινῶν, appointed by *Aristides* for those that assisted him in the Warre against the *Medes*, of which *Aristophanes* in his *Lysistrate.* If there hapned any contro-

*That there may be no poor among you &c. *Deuter.* 15.14. So *some* render כדאפם כילא אכיון יהיה

ſy in this buſineſſe, there were δίκαι ἐρανικαὶ, Lawes and Writs made for the purpoſe.

*L. 9. de Leg.

Plato ſpeaks very well of this *cuſtome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his anſwer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the uſe thereof to the *Amiſeni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, ſi tali Collationi &c.*

Other proviſion there was beſides this *eranus*, for their relieſe. For the richer ſort were wont every new moon, to make a great feaſt of Bread, and other courſe fare for this purpoſe. Which feaſt being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occaſion to them to call every courſe beggarly feaſt, by the name of *Hecates cœna*. But as bad as the fare was, the *perſon* in *Pluto Ariſtophanis*, took his argument even from thence to commend the condition of the poor, above that of the rich. Saies he —πρὸς τί Ἑκάτης ἔξεστι τοῖσι πτωχοῖς

Εἰπεῖν τὸ πλουτεῖν, ἢ τὸ πενεῖν βέλτιον &c.

Ask Hecate, and ſhe will tell you which is beſt. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, money allowed them out of the Treaſury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and *Shewes*.

SECT,

SECT. III.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

HAving ſpoken of the cuſtomes uſed by the *Athenians* amongſt *themſelves*, it will be fitting in the next place to ſay ſomething of thoſe which they uſed towards their *enemies*; and after that of thoſe towards either, or both in Divinations.

The Warlike proviſion which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being liſted *inter Ephebos* (which was as I told you, at the age of eighteen) were from that time till twenty, ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις (as they called it) that is, they muſt be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they muſt περιπολεῖν τὰ περὶ πόλιν ἐρύκεια ſtand ſentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works, and the like: according to that of *Terence, *Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræo abierit, nam ibi cuſtos publicè eſt nunc.* The firſt of the two yeares they kept within the City, but the ſecond they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a ſhield, and a Speare, and a χλαμὺς

Harpocr.

*In Eunuch.

or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight ἀστρατείοις, *without the Liberties.* But ever after 'till forty they might. And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the Ἐπώνυμος, registred in this manner, ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ τότε ἐπωνύμου. *Such a one in pay ever since such a one was Archon Eponymus:* to shew how long every man had been in service. Of these Ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called ἐπώνυμοι ληξεως, from the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, in which they listed their names after they were twenty years old; and sometimes ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν, because they thus kept a note of every mans *age*: in opposition to Ἐπώνυμοι κατὰ φυλῶν, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes.* Now some there were that were *exempted*, and some that were *excluded* from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders οἱ τὸ τέλος πεπρακότες, who therefore had the priviledge τὰ ἀτέλειας: or the χορδῶται, *i. e.* οἱ τῷ διονύσῳ χορδὴν ὀφλόντες. *Bacchus* his *Salii*, or *dauncing Priests.* The latter were οἱ θῆτες slaves, and all such *proletarious* People, who were not to be employed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour ἐκ καταλόγου στρατεύεσθαι, which the others had. For *they*, as soone as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus* ὁπλίσαντες τὸν ὅρκον, were listed by the Πολέμαρχος, or Generall (as many as he καταλέξειν *made choice* of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the καταλόγος, or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having beside that another πίναξ or Table-book, for such as were *Emeriti, out of service*, and discharged. After they had been listed by the General, they were to be listed again by the under officer the στρατηγὸς, or the foot by the τάξιαρχοι, and the Horse-men by the φύλαρχοι. The στρατῖται were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, βαρυτάτην ὁπλίσει, and were *gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Speares. 2ly ψιλοὶ

Ulpian. ad Olymp.

Aristot. de Rep. Alb.

Levis,

Levis armaturæ milites, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3 ly Πελτασταὶ, a middle sort between both, with their πέλται or ἀσπίδια, *narrow shields, and short speares.* Such as they made choyce of for Horsemen, were to be σωματώδεστοι τοῖς χεῖρας καὶ σώμασι (saies *Xenophon*) *able both in body and purse*, and therefore were to be examined first by the *Senate* of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were σκιρτητικοὶ *skittish*, or ψοφώδεις (as the Scholiast calls it) *Noyse-proofe*. And this they did τῷ κώδωνι καὶ τύφῳ, with a *Bell*, or a *Kettle-drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in mind of the κώδων, which they used to make a noyse withall, when they did περιπολεῖν *Walke the round* to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called κωδωνοφορεῖν or κωδωνίζειν.

——Κωδωνοφορεῖται, παντάχῃ
Φυλακαὶ καθιστήκασι.

Insomuch that κωδωνίζειν, is used for the same with πειρᾶζειν, *to try, or prove* (as in *Aristophanis Batrachis*, ὅπ ποιεῖ, κωδωνίσω) and ἀκωδώνισιν for ἀπείρασιν *intentatum*. (As in *Lysistrate*, ὡς σφόσφερε πάντα ἀλέσχες ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἀκωδώνιστον ἐᾷν τὸ τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα μιδέντα.) If a Horse had been πεπυμμένος *worne and beaten out* with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the sign of a τροχὸς (a *wheele* I think) & gave him his πυσίπποι; (for so they called both the mark and the discharge it selfe:) whence came the proverb used by *Eupolis* ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοι ἐπικαλεῖς πυσίππου, to give a man his πυσίππου, that is his *discharge*. All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the *Kings*, gives this reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israeliticis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat) quod Helias curru igneo, et equis igneis sit ad cœlestes translatus (vel certè hoc ipsum inter alia depictũ in pariete videntes) crediderunt vicini à decepti nominis Solis hic transitum per cœlos esse designatum, et miraculum divinitus factũ commutarunt in argumentũ erroris*, &c. becaus e

Hesych.

lias once was carried up to Heaven with Horſes, therefore *Helius* or the Sun, muſt be thought to have horſes conſecrated to his ſervice ever after.

The horſe-men, firſt, ſome were διμάχαι, that had two *mates to fight*, with Armour for the purpoſe, and a boy to hold their horſe while they fought a foot (a faſhion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) Some were ἱππαγωγοὶ, that had two *Horſes*, one to ride upon, and the other to lead; from ἀγωγὴ. Their manner of life was very high and ſtately, for many times they would πομπεύειν, that is, have a *tranſvection*, or ride into the City in Pomp and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, uſually called by the name of a ξυσὶς, as it is in theſe verſes.

L.Poll.l. 8.c.1c.

Ὅταν σὺ ἁΐγας ἅρμ' ἐλαύνῃς πρὸς πόλιν
Ὡσπὴρ Μεγακλέης ξυσὶν ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horſe, or ſit in the chaire. *Aurigæ* then were called ἱππεῖς, and were better then παραβάται, who lookt to the Coach onely.

The number of the Horſemen was greater or leſſe, according to the number of the people. Otherwiſe (as *Pollux* ſaith) every ναυκραρία (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Moſt of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *aſſidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, inſomuch that they reckon'd it a very diſgracefull thing to be *ærarii*, or *metelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, becauſe it was ſo often changed, I think I had better be ſilent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others onely this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be ἀβροδιαίτους, *dainty* and to weare long haire, as ſome ſay: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant onely of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχωσιν ἐν τῇ θριξὶν ἀπτόμενον πῶς πολεμίοις, *that the enemy might have no hold-faſt*, ſaies *Plutarch* in his *Theſeus*, were he ſaies alſo that the faſhion

fashion being first used by *Theseus* was therefore called Θησηΐς.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vim propulsabant.

THE first makers of Armour are said to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall whereof it was made, at the first was Brasse, saies [a]*Pausanias*: but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod.* a *In Lacon.*

Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο, μίλαξ δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the *coat of Maile*. The most noted thing in the Helmet, was the *Crest*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore called by *Alcæus*, Καρικὸς λόφος. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it was fastned they called τρήκωμα, and to fasten it στηκοῦσθαι. *Homer.*

Πλοκμοὶ δ' οἱ χρυσῷ ἀρσὶν ἐστηκώατο.

The Crest was double or treble, according to the quality of the person. For if he were an *heros* it might be treble, saies [b]*Euripides*, and *quadruple*, saies [c]*Apollonius*. b *In Oreſt.* c *L. 3.*

Τετράλοφος φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπιλάμπετο πῆληξ.

The stuffe whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the haire of a Horse taile; and thence it is that it is called ἱππουρὶς, and ἱππόκομος πτυφάλεια in [d]*Theocritus*; and that it is said [e]σχορύεσθαι when the hair fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as ὀφρύες the *eyebrows*, & the rest, except the *Penthouse* τὸ γένειον. d *Id. 23.* e *Aristoph. Pace.*

Of the *Shield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of several kinds, for sometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of *Virgil.* *Æn. 7.*

—flectuntq; Salignas
Umbonum crates— (but then they called it ἰτέαι) *Hesych.*

and sometimes of wood: but most commonly of raw Oxe-hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid

laid one upon the other. *Ovid* saies *Ajax* had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had seven pieces of or folding in it, and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

—& as & proxima rupis
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

a *Troad. v. 1336.* And therefore in a *Euripides* it is called χαλκόνωτον ἀσπίς. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. The names of the several parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux L. 1. c. 10.* Onely thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deal of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having κόγχους ornaments to be seen, and κογχώματα little holes to see others by, set in the ἴτυς, or the border. And 2ly, for the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called ἀντὶ, or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the *Cares*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it καρικὸν ὄχανον: and so were likewise the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, *Strabo l. 14.* and most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Crest into the Grave along with him. The *Armes*, (τὰ σημεῖα, or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Vlysses* had his λαερτιάδου; *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a *Roust-cock*, the *avant coureur* to the *Sunne*. But the *Heroes* anciently, and for the most part, used to bear Eagles, ἀετοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων γεγραμμένους τοὺς χαλκηλάτους. To the Arms, they added *verses* in commendation of the prowess of the Person, by which he deserved those Armes, and the names of the maker; such as *In Eliatr.* *Pausanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The *case* or *Theca* wherein the Shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *cases*, according to that in *Andromache*.

Eust. v. 617. Κάλλιστα τεύχη ἐς χαλοῖσι σάγμασι

L. 21. c. 14. *Rhodiginus* saies, that in the use of the shield, there were some things which they observed to be *ominous*: for if it happened

pend to ſtrike their knees, they counted it lucky: but if they ſtruck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill-ſigne. The moſt famous ſhield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Jupiter Aegiochus*, named Αἰγὶς, becauſe he covered it with the skin of his nurſe the goate called *Amalthæa*, this ſhield he beſtowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the *Stone-making* or *aſtoniſhing* head of *Meduſa*. Whether that *Scutum ſacrum* which *Alexander* is ſaid to have ſtolne, and to have caried alwaies before him, were the ſame with this or no, I know not. Their ſhields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the faſhion was alſo for the other ſorts of armes) they ſuffered not to have their πόρπακες *handles*, (or ſome ſuch neceſſary appurtenances) that ſo in caſe there ſhould be any inſurrection, they might be the leſſe ready for uſe; which was the cauſe why he in the Poet cryed out ſo as he did, when he ſaw it otherwiſe.

Ὅπλα παλαι ἔχεσι δ' πόρπακες.

For ſaies another a little before.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῶν, εἰπερ φιλεῖς τὸ σῶμον ἐν πτυχαῖς
Ταῦτας ἐᾶν αὐ τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀναπεφθῆναι.

The *Coates of Maile* were of three ſorts. the firſt ζῶμα, which reached from the navell to the knees: the ſecond Ἡμιθωράκιον, which covered halfe the breſt, ſuch as *Polyænus* reports to have been much uſed by the Soulders of *Alexander* the Great: The third θώραξ, which reached from the ſhoulders to the navel, ſo called ἀπὸ τῆς θεῖον σῴζειν, from *preſerving* the *heart*, and the breſt: from which peculiar office of it, *Ariſtophanes* in *Acharnenſibus*, borrowes the word θωρήξασθαι, for to ſignifie to be well nigh drunk, (as we ſay when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed againſt the cold) and ἀκρεθωρηκέναι, to ſignifie ἀκρεσπεφθῆναι, *drunk to the top*. Now a *Thorax* was either ἁπλοῦς *all of one piece*, *plaine* like χιτὼν *recta tunica*: or elſe ἀλυσιδωτὸς, with *chaines* or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coates of Maile.) The *leather* I ſay, becauſe it was uſually made of a hide (τὸ αὐτὸς

Etymol.

σκύτος) as the *Scuta* were,

--- τῶν ἀσπίδων σκύτει,

Aristoph. in Pace. So they say that the Latine word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dryed and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*,

Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnatori operit.

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls θαλαμίδες, by a Metaphor from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

The *Colour* most in use upon their Armes, Cloathes, or crests, &c. was crimson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being used to the colour; or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From the *Phœnician* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Crest, or what is it?

Aristoph: in Pace. φοινικίδα. In allusion to whose *red bloody* colour, the Poët in *Acharnenses* speaking of having a few beaten till the blood came, thus expresses it.

Μὴ 'κ καταξαίνειν τ' ἄνδρα τῶνδον εἰς φοινικίδα.

Let's card him and worke him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skin like a φοινικίς.

Idem. Ibid. To carry their *Provision* in, every man had his γύλιον, or ὀψοδήκην σφαιροτύλην a kind of *basket* (*fiscinam*) made of Oziers (πλέγμα) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poët having used the word γύλιον, to signifie such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word γυλιωχίναι, to signifie *men that had a neck as long as that thing*. Their ordinary provision was Cheese, and Olives, and Onions. Their quantity commonly so much as would serve for three dayes, according to that of the same Poët still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐπιμῆνιά τε καὶ τριήμερ' ἐκ τριῶν.

Those too often repeated *Orders for three dayes provision.*

CAP.

CAP. III.

De armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armes*, or the *Weapons* they used to fight with, were in ancient time clubs (used also for putting of Malefactors to death) called by * *Homer* φάλαγγες, according to that of *Horace*, * *Il.* 4.

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fustibus, atq; ita porrò
Pugnabant armis quæ post fabricaverat usus.

But afterward they came to Speares, a weapon so highly esteemed, that some would not stick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Eustathius*: ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ πήξας εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀκόντιον ἦν τῶν περιπόξειν ἀεθμεῖν. Where ἀεθμεῖν, some say signifies to worship (and so they say of the word *numerare*, used by *Cicero* in his Booke *De Nat: Deorum. Novi ego Epicureos omnia sigilla numerantes.*) Thus it is reported of one *Pheræus Alexander* a Tyrant, that having killed his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he tooke it and crowned it with Garlands, and caused it to be adored by the name of τυχών. One would have thought it sufficiently honoured, to be used by Kings insteed of Scepters, as *Justin* saith it was: or at most to *have a place* in the Temple: or else to have been *dedicated* to a god, as *Plutarch* saith it was to *Pallas*, (because of τάλιον, the proper word for ἀκόντιον) and to be joyned to the statute of the god: for so it commonly was among the Latines especially; whence it came that *hastæ motæ, speaking of the Speares*, so often spoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted such a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the respect they gave to them will sufficiently appeare, in the care they tooke of the keeping them. For while they slept in the field they fastned it ἐς σαυρωτῆρας, which *Pollux* interprets, the *butt-end* of the Speare made (it may be) with a *cresse* for the better hold-fast, *quasi* σαυρωτῆρας from σαυρὸς. But *Eustathi-*

su ſaith it was an iron with a ſharp taile like a ſnake, to be ſet in the ground, and hollow head, to ſet the ſpeare in, from στῶρ *Lacerta*, a *Lizard*, which it reſembled. When they came home, they ſet it in a long wooden *caſe*, made of purpoſe by a pillar of the houſe.

Odyſſ. 1.

Ἔγχος μὲ ἕξοπα χάλκεον πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν
Δουρὸς ὀκὴς ἐν τοίχῳ ἐυξόου. —

ſaies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Æn. 12.

Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columnæ
Ædibus aſtabat, validam vi corripit haſtam.

The cuſtome firſt πάλλειν to *vibrate* the Speare before they uſed it, to try the ſtrength of it, was ſo conſtantly kept, that ἐγχεσπάλος, a *ſhake-ſpeare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and in other Poets to ſignifie a *Souldier*. When the Greeks began the uſe of Bowes, I know not: but it ſeemes they had ſuch things, and *Heſychius* in the word ἰτωνία, ſaies they made the *ſtrings* of *Horſes haire*. Swords likewiſe they had, which they uſed to hang by their ſides, διὰ τελαμώνων by *belts*, or ſtrings of leather, as they did the ſhields: and the ſtrings came over the ſhoulders as ours do.

χ. on Il. γ. Heſiod,

Ὁμοίως δὲ μὲν ἀμφὶ μελαίνετον ἄορ ἔκειτο.

What other offenſive arme they had I know not. But the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled moſt in the *defenſive*, and that the Barbarians were better at the offenſive.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, conſulendi deos, obſervandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affairs, I cannot find but that they did *droperè ſequi quæ piget inchoare, beare* a greater affection to *Peace*: as may appear in

in their honourable receiving of Embaſſadors, to whom they gave *hearing* in no worſe place then a *Temple*; [a] and their *entertainment* in the *Pritaneum*. The uſuall Enſigne carryed by Greek Embaſſadors, was κηρύκιον *caduceus* a *right ſtaffe* of wood with ſnakes twiſted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether this was to affright them from diſcord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth* (a ſeed of diſſention ſometime ſown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) tis but τεχμάζεις my *conjecture*, and a bolt perhaps too *ſoon ſhot* to hit the marke. An Embaſſadours allowance, was two ἡμέραι a day, which they uſually called τὸ πορεῖον. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they muſt needs have warre: yet they would be ſure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intenſions, before they marcht. The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to ſend a fellow of purpoſe, either to caſt a Speare, or let looſe a Lamb into the borders of the Country, or into the City it ſelfe, whether they were marching (which *Heſychius* rather thinks to have be en the ſignall before a battle) thereby ſhewing them ὑπλόβοτον αὐτῶν τὴν ἀγρὸν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν, that what was then a habitation for *men*, ſhould be ſhortly a paſture for *ſheep*, and what was then paſture for their *own* ſheep, ſhould be ſhortly turned to the uſe of their *enemies*. Before they ſet forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation; conſidering, and examining whether it were convenient or not: the Gods muſt be ſacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners ſought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City ſearcht into: for this courſe the [b] Tragœdian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of Athens, upon the coming of *Euriſtheus*. Then beſides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewiſh, Latine, and Perſians

[a] *Demoſth.* σ. Φιλιππ.

Etym.

γ. *Homer in Batrachom.*

Diogenian.

[b] Πόλις τ' ἐὼ ὄπλοις σφαλεὶς δ' ὑποσμαίνει, Ἔσπιν, δὲ χρὴ σοῦ τὰ τίμιαδε σῶσαι, δυσπολεῖται δ' ἀεὶ μίπτειαν ὑπὸ Τερπαίας τ' ἐχθρᾶν καὶ πόλεως σωτήρια, χρησμῶν δ' ἀοιδοὶς πάντας εἰς ἓν ἀλίσας Ἥλιξα καὶ βέβυλα καὶ κορυμβίφα Λόξια παλαιὰ τῆ ἔχῃ σωτήρια,

sian, they used to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and consecrated to the gods, in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vows of the like price. Nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *daies*. For as the *Lacedæmonians* thought it not good to march ἐν τοῖς παντελήνοις, till the *full* of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐν τοῖς ἑβδόμοις, till the *seventh* day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moone. In marching, the Generall used alwayes ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δέξιον, to *keep himselfe on the right horne, or wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ὁπλοπηγοὶ) kept themselves ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις, *in those parts*, or those *Corpora* (as the Romans called them) which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called στρατεία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and sometimes τερθρεία. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called θύειν τὸ διαβατήρια. No passing without a prayer,

—οὐδὲν γ' ἄυξη ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ῥόθρα.

The Romans alwaies observed the like custome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly called the action *Peremnè auspicari*.

Aristoph. in Eq.

Suidas.

Hesiod. l. 2.

Festus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Commitendi prælium, & de usu tubarum.

WHen they fought a Battle, after they had killed a *victime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches:* for πυρφόροι ἀντὶ σαλπιγκτῶν, instead of sounding a Trumpet, they had fellowes whom they called πυρφόροι, that went before with Torches, and throwing them downe in the midst between

In Euripi. Phæn.

between the two Armies gave the signe.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Lariſſæo
Obtrudit Bellona facem. Statius Th. 4.

Lycophron in his ἐχθρᾶς ἡ πυρσὸν, and *Pindar* in ὕμνων πυρσὸν seem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. Now this buſineſſe they might do ſafely, and without any danger, ἀνεχώουν ἀείνυσοι. For the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted *ſacred*, * ἱερὰ τοῦ θεοῦ: inſomnch that it became a proverb, when any Army was totally defeated, ἐσώθησαν ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη. Thoſe *Torches Euripides in Rheſus* calls πυρὸς λαμπάδας, where he ſaies that the *Achivi avoided* them, that is, refuſed the fight.

* Sc. in Euripi. Phan. ἐσώζοντο ἢ εἰς πυρφόρους ἐν ᾗ πάντες ἀπώλοντο.

——πυρὸς λαμπάδας ἐξήρθης κλύων.
φεύγειν Ἀχαιούς.

Qui elatus es, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos. (better in my mind then *Qui audiens ignis faces accenſas adductus eſt, ut credat fugere &c.*) Nay, not only when they would ſignifie their intenſions to *fight* with the enemy, *to the enemy himſelf*: but alſo when they would ſignifie his approach to *others*, to have their aſſiſtance, they made uſe of Torches too, which they called φρύκτους. The word rendred *faces*, and you may render it *Brands*, or *Beacons* if you will, for they are made of dry wood, or ſticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they had men ſtill who did φρυκλωρεῖν keep φρυκλοείας *Watches* in the * Towers or Forts, as we do at the Beacons. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day, they raiſed a ſmoake. But I muſt tell you, there were φίλιοι φρυκτοὶ Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their friends too, as well as πολέμιοι. But with this diſtinction, that φίλιοι were held, or let lye ſtill: but the πολέμιοι were toſſed and ſhaken to and fro,

Ad Ilom. Il. 6.

* Κὶ φρυκλωείας ἐν τοῖς πύργοις Ariſtoph. in Avib.

But thoſe Torches *laſted* not alwayes, For afterwards they came to make uſe of Trumpets, according to that of *Æſchylus*

In Perſis

Σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῆ πάντ' ἐπεῖχ' ἐπίφλεγειν.

In-

In or *accendit* ſtill, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the *Torches* once in uſe. The firſt invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* to the *Tirrheni*, from whom it is conceived to have been firſt brought into Greece by one *Archidas* an aſſiſtant to the *Heraclidæ*, as the ſame Scholiaſt reports in the ſame place, [a] αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Ἀρχίδας συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἦλθε πρῶτος τυρσηνικῷ σάλπιγγα εἰς Ἕλληνας. And therefore he calls the Trumpet τυρσηνικὸν, *viz.* from the inventers; As the Poet himſelf had done before, both in his *Phæniſſæ*, and his *Heraclidæ*: where he ſaies it was uſed when they joyned Battle, and that then it ſounded [b] ὄρθιον a *long blaſt*, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have ſpoken before.) There was a time when ſhields did ſerve for Trumpets *eonchæque ſonantes*: and then you might eaſily conſtrue that riddle of *Theognis*.

In Phæn.

[a] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσήμην' ὄρθιον τυρσηνικῇ Σάλπιγγι, καὶ σωῇσιν ἀλλήλοις; μάχῃ. *v.* 830.

[b] *C.* 6. 5.

Ἦδη γὰρ κίκλησκε θαλασσηφόρα νεκρὸς
Τεθνηκὼς ζωοῖς φθιγγόμενος σύμαν.

CAP. VI.

De *Scytale*, *de Militum pœnis & præmiis & Sepulturâ.*

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the meſſenger that was ſent with the newes was adorned with [c] Garlands. In the mean time thoſe that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, uſed to ſacrifice to the gods in the waies, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὰ εἴη, ἐπινύσειαν ταύταις, εἰν ᾗ τύχαι πόν, ἐπιθέωσαν, *If it were god, to bring it along the way to them, if not, to be there in the way and ſtop it.* For cloſe conveying of the intelligence I ſuphoſe they had ſeverall waies. Whether they made uſe of the *Lacedemonians* σκυτάλαι, I know not. If you pleaſe, you may read the diſcription thereof in *A. Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he ſaies, that they made them two ſtaves or rods ἰσομήκεις of *a length*, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carryed by the Gene-

[c] Ἐπεὶ κατασεῖσαι στέχοντ' ὀρεῶ &c. *Soph. Trach: χ. In Ariſtoph. Eq.*

L. 17. *c.* 9.

rall

nerall along with him. When they meant to send him any private message, they took a piece of σκύτος a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, so as it could not be understood, unlesse it were rolled upon those staves, and the parchment and the staffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it seemes by the Poet, whether he spake in jest or in earnest, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athemans, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he terms it or a humour like that of the English towards the French.

Βλακικὸν νομάσθω πάντες ἄνθρωποι τόδε
Σκυτάλαι ἐπορσύνειν.

If any one turned αὐτομόλος, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he suffered death. If he had been ἀστράτευτος, and *would* not, or δειλὸς and *could* not fight for fear, or if λιποτάξιον τὸν τάξιν, or ῥίψασπις, he had *left his rank* or *thrown down* his *Armes*, he was registred and delivered to the *Heliastæ* to be punished as they pleased, and not to come to the Temples, till he had satisfied justice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward. *Vid. supr. Æschines contra Ctesiph.*

Οὐχ ὃν πρ' ἀνηκέστων ἐλάσῃ ἐν μάχῃ. *Eurip. Heracl. v. 966.*

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two ὀβολοὶ, saies *Hesychius*: (but *one*, saies *Harpocration*) every day out of the publick Treasury: but first they were to be examined by the Parliament of *five Hundred*, whether they were δύνατοι. now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένοι, saies *Harpocration*, those whose estates came not to so much as three *mine*. Such as were *slaine*, their Children were maintained out of the publick Treasure, till they came to be twenty yeares old: and then they had a παρωνία, a *Suit of Armes* bestowed upon them, ἀναμιμήσκουσα τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐπιτηδεύματα, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, and to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour also προεδρείας, of having the formost seat at *shewes*. If they buried the party slain in the same place (as they did all at *Marathon*-fight) the fashion *Vid. Supr.* *Plato.*

ſhion was then to make a ſhield his *Beere*, as twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to thoſe words of the Lacedemonians *virago* to her Son, as ſhe was helping on his ſhield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶν, either do thou bring *the ſhield home again*, *or let the ſhield bring* [a] *thee*; nay and to make it his Coffin too ſometime, as it ſeemes by the ſaying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Aſtianax*.

[a] *Arma ſuperveheris quid, Thraſibule, tua? Auſon Epig. 24.*

Ἀλλ' ἀνὴ κάρᾳ, πεσβόλωντι λαΐνων
Ἐν τῷ ϑ' ἁλῶσι παῖδα.

At the buriall, the reſt of his company Marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, ſhaking their Armes and throwing their ſwords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. But for the moſt part, they were allowed a publique buriall upon the common charge, at home in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three dayes before the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriall day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypreſſe wood, and carrying away each one their bones, put them in the ground with ſeverall pillars and inſcriptions, and one ſolemne ſpeech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Armes in their Shields, or elſe placed in the ἄστυ, and honoured with the name of *Cecropidæ*, *Citizens of the true old blood*: according to that

Thucid. l. 3.

Eurip. in Phœn.

Οὐ καλλινίκους Κεκροπίδας ἔϑην' ἐγώ.

Sometimes ſuch as had the *firſt fruits* (or the *prime*) of the ſpoyles, were adorned with a golden στέφανος.

Ibid.

Καὶ πῶλ' χρυσῆν στέφανον ὃς ἀρᾶς ἔχω
Λαζὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλευμάτων.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De Trophæis.

FOR *memorialls* of the victory, ἀνέστανο τρόπαια, *they erected Trophies*: (you may write τρόπαια, if you had rather follow the most [a] ancient, then that which is newest in fashion.) Trophies were usually *pillars* of brasse, or stone, or wood. And the wood sometimes *olive* (τὰ τρόπαια ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν καὶ παλαιοὶ ἀνέθεσαν, saies *Dionysius*) and sometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

——*Quercusq; tropheis Curva tremens*——

Those Pillars among *them* answered to the *arcus triumphalis* among the Latines. Only *that* might be overthrown; but *these* might neither be taken away, nor restored again, if consumed with age or the like, ὅπ αὐ τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνειν χαλεπαίνειν ἐπίφθονον ὄντι καὶ φιλαπέχθημον, least they *should thereby rub up the old sore and revive the grudge with their enemies*. And therefore saies the same Author, ἐν παρ' ἕλλησιν οἱ χαλκοῦν σίσυρτις τρόπαιον ἐνδείκνυσι *Those that made them Trophies of brasse, were looke upon as contentious men, and haters of Amnesty*. Now upon the Trophie, they ingraved an ἐπιγραμμα, declaring the cause of the Warre and the manner of the Victory: such a one as *Othryades* wrote with te blood of the *Argivi*. The like *inscriptions* many times were written upon other things. For *Pausanias* having conquered *Mardonius* at *Platea*, did not only at *Byzantium* write it upon the *Cup*, which he consecrated to the gods of the place; (as *Athenæus* reports to his dispraise for his arrogance) but also upon a *tripus* besides, which he caused to be made of Gold and sent to *Delphos*, with this inscription.

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being displeased blotted it

[a] Οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἀνδριάντων, ὡς δὴ νεωτέρων πρεσβυτέρων. γ. *In Aristoph. Plut.*

Plut. in Roman.

Stobæus de Fortuna.

Thucid. l. 1.

cleane out and instead thereof, engraved the names onely of those Cities, by whose help they obtained the victory, And so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called [a] Ποικίλη.

[a] Ἑλλήνων στεμμαχώντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι Ἔστιναν.

In *Cicero's* [b] time (it seems) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he sayes, that the *Thebans* were accused for erecting a Trophy over the Lacedemonians. But instead of them, they erected sometimes altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanas*:) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter* τροπαιοῦχος (so called from causing the enemy τρέπεσθαι to turne their *back*: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for causing their owne Souldiers to *stand* to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and ἐσθλὸς (as I told you before of χρηστὸς) *good* or *valiant Iolaus* erected.

[b] *Piſon.*

—Βρέτας Διὸς, τροπαίου καλλίνικον ἕρμα.

Eurip. in Heracl. v. 937.

The *Spoyles* which they tooke (σκῦλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the *living*) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was ἀκροθίνια, *quasi* ἀκροσώρια, saies *Eustathius*, as if it were παρὰ τὸ ζώνης ἐν μεγάλῃ σωρεύειν: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, *viz.* ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ littore ἀπαρχὰς ἀναπομπὰς ἐξ ἀμπειρίας διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν σωθῆναι, because the things were saved from being cast *on shore*.) But I rather incline to the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles Trachiniæ*, who saies those ἀπαρχαὶ, or the *first fruits of the spoyles* which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκροθίνια, because they used to lay the spoyles, which they had taken, together on a heap, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου τὸ σῶρος, they skim'd away the *Creame*, as I may say, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. In allusion whereunto *Megara* in *Euripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her sons out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus:

In Odyss.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ υἱοῖς ἀκροθινιάζομαι.

The

The Armes which they tooke, ἀνίσθην they *hung up* for the moſt part in their Temples (and ſometimes in their owne houſe) as they did their *owne*, when they left the ſervice, as *Horace* ſaies,

—*Veianius, armis*
Herculis ad poſtem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Some of the ſpoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but *wrote* them all. For that was the cuſtome, τὰ σκῦλα τοῖς τρόπαιοις ἐγγράφειν ſaies the *Schaliaſt.*

[a] Τρόπαια ἱδρύοντο μάλιστα μὲν ἐν τοῖς πατρικοῖς ἱεροῖς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἀφιερώσωσι τῷ θεῷ, τότε καὶ τὰ τρόπαια καθαιροῦσιν. *Eurip. Heracl. v. 786.*

[b] *In Phæniſ. Eur.*

LIBER

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem, & somniantem.

THERE were not many things in use among the Jewes the People of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, do not seem to have imitated, and so *vice versâ*. Such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldæi* among the Assirians, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians, the *Galleotæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Hetrusci* among the Italians. Neither was the *honour* or *credit* of Divination lesse then the *use* For if we may believe [a] *Strabo*, Οἱ δὲ μάντεις ἐτιμῶντο ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιοῦσθαι, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings*: To a Persian King it was *necessary*, to any other *convenient*. *Amphilochus*

[a] *L.* 16.

Iochus, and *Mopſus* Kings of *Argivi* were *Augurs* too. *Helenus* and *Caſſandra* Children of a King, one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Phyſitian*, it was reckoned ſo neceſſary, that *Æſchylus* has uſed ἰατρὸς a *Phyſitian*, and μάντις a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the Peſtilence, to ſeek to μαντικὴ for a cure. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer* ſpeaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Profeſſions. Credit it had among the beſt Philoſophers (eſpecially that of Dreames, and *Enthyſiaſmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the Socraticks, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Ariſtotle* and the Peripateticks. *Pythagoras* indeed was againſt *extiſpicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* againſt that and all the reſt.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men*, called Μαντεία: or from the *Gods*, properly called χρησμὸς *an Oracle*. *According* to that of the [a] Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles*, χρησμὸς μὲν ὁ ἀφ' ἑνὸς θεοῦ, μαντεία δὲ ἀνθρώπων. Indeed μαντεία ſeemes to be the *genus*, and χρησμὸς the *ſpecies*. The ſame Propheſy which when it was ſpoken by a god, was a χρησμὸς, when it was delivered by [b] men, was μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari* (*neque me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet*) where as in the *other* it could be but *præſagire* at the wiſeſt. The faculty in the firſt ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now called it, [c] ἀπειροκάλως τὸ τερμβαλόντες) or ἡ μαντικὴ as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tireſias* ſaid, ᾗ τὸ μαντικὸν πολλῷ μαντικῷ ἔχει) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, into *firſt* τεχνικῷ *artificioſam*, that which is acquired by obſervation and experience, *obſervatis longo tempore ſignificationibus &c.* And 2ly, Ἄτεχνον or ἀδίδακτον *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. Theſe two *ſpecies* are ſaid to be ὁ θεσπεσὸς δίδυμος μαντοσύνη, the *twins*, or the double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Janus* his ſonne, and to his Family after him. The naturall or infuſed faculty of Divination, moſt properly called μαντικὴ, proceeded firſt *à motu furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to propheſy; yet it ſeems rather to have been

[a] *In Oed. Tyr.*

[b] *Ennius.*

[c] *Plato.*

Eurip. in Bacc. 199.

been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophesy of *Isaiah c. 44. ℣. 25.* Said he would *make their diviners mad.* And *Cicero* himselfe saies tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos assecutus sit, that he that hath lost his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the gods.* Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of six men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next and so along. Or else it proceeded *à motu somnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it ὀνειροκριτικὸν, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone *tumbling down the hill.*

The first kind coming by *Enthusiasme* or Inscription, was either of lesse authority; such as *Cassandra* had: or *Polybius* Prophecying his sons death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or else of greater, so as to command a belief: such as the Sybill women had; or the *Pythia wench*, who delivered the Oracles, which was nothing but a cunning trick, *à vafris quibusdam & quæstuariis inchoatum*, invented for gaine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this, that [a] *Terræ vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturæ Sibyllam. Pythia had it inspired, or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature.* Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens* then in any other part of the world, It may not be amiss to speake somewhat of the most noted of them, *viz. Pythium*, *Dodonæum*, and *Jupiter Hammon's*.

[a] *Cic. l. 1. de Divin.*

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE most noted of the three Oracles was the first. It was called *Pythium*, for the same reason that the Woman

man was called *Pythia*, *i. e.* either from *Python* the serpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who possessed the place by conquest. Or from *Pytho* another name of *Delphos* the place of this Oracle, which came from *Pythis* the sonne of *Delphus*, the sonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to distribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navill* is to distribute nourishment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it μεσόμφαλον μαντεῖον, because it was ὀμφαλὸς the *Navill*, or *Umbilicus* the mid'st of *Greece*, (saies *Strabo*) and not of the *World* as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio positi*. And this they came to know forsooth, by the two *Eagles*) saies *Pindar* (*Crowes* saies some, and others *Swans*) which being let fly by *Jupiter* met both in that place. Nay in allusion to the name of ὀμφαλὸς (by which it was commonly called) *Pausanias* saies there was to be seen in the Temple a Navill made of white stone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill string. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from ὀμὴ the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no means yeeld to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neque locus is sit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus sit in homine medius.* But the latter reason is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one else. The first beginner of the Oracle (some say) was *Tellus*, πρώτιστον γαῖα: and some *Themis*.

Ἡ πρώτη κατ' ἀρχὰς βοσκὰς μαντεῖον ἄγουσα.

The first beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, comming to a den very large before with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a suddaine fell a leaping and making a strange noise. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) seeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the same frolick; but propheſied too! And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the same purpose. Nay a great many, with the *breath* ἔνθεον δαιμόνιον, or *anhelitus terræ*, as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, *expired*. Insomuch that afterward they set a *Three-footed* Diodor. l. 6.

footed ſtool upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſſe, whoſe common name was *Pythia*, and her *office* to put the Oracle into verſe and deliver it out. For (ſaies *Plutarch*) *the words are hers, only Apollo* Τὰς συντυχίας παίειν, καὶ θύειν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς τὸ μάλλον, ſate in under blowing with the bellows to ſet her a *peeping* or a *whiſpering* like thoſe מְצַפְצְפִים in *Iſaiah* c 8. v. 19. Where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστριμάντεις, or *belly* Prophets that *peep* and *mutter*; ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Divel ſpake his propheſies with a ſmall peeping voice like a childs. But that Prophet in another place comes neerer to us, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voice ſhall be as one that hath a familiar ſpirit, out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt.* Now ſome ſay the *Trypus* whereof I ſpake, was a pot filled with *duſt*, thorow which the *afflatus*, the wicked *inſpiration*, was to paſſe into the belly of the Wench, and ſo to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that thoſe Prophets which in thoſe times had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, and τερατοσκοποί, as well as πύθωνες, and [c] Εὐρυκλεῖς, the manner of her ſitting, &c. when ſhe took the ſpirit in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you it in the words of the [d] *Scholiaſt*, Ἐπιφθαίνουσα τῷ τρίποδι καὶ διαρρήσασα τὸν σύλλον τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς ἀνῆν πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐδέχετο μοῖραν, καὶ τὰς τρίχας λύουσα, καὶ ἀφρὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πίμπλασα, τὰς μαντείας ἐμάνθανε μᾶλλον μαίνεσθαι ἐρθέγγετο. She was no ſooner inſpired, but ſhe fell a tearing her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, & cutting her fleſh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus ſpeaks of their geſtures, *Stellis namque humeris & utráque manu diſtrictos gladios extorentes currunt, efferantur, inſaniunt.* But this peeping may not make me prepoſterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The firſt Maids name that propheſied in that place, was *Phemonoe*. All the reſt were young Virgins, as ſhe was, till *Echecrates*, a Theſſalian

As I have heard he lately did in a poſſeſſed Chriſtian in the Town of *Barwick*. *Ch* 29. *v.* 4.

Plutarch. de Orac. defec.

[c] And *Euriclidæ* from *Eurycles* a Prophet of that name.

[d] *Ariſtoph in Avid.*

Theſſalian deflowred *Phœbas*; and then they made choice of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The [a] cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they went to *ſtool*, to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their hair in the fountain *Caſtalius* (where the Poets, a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too, were uſed to waſh)

——κόμας ἡμὰς δεῦσαι—— when they ſate firſt on the ſtool, they uſed to ſhake [b] the Laurel-tree that grew cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves & chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies μασησαμένη δάφνην, for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to do, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Caſſandra* λαιμὸν δαφνηφάγον.

[a] *v. on Eu. rip. Phœn.*

[b] *v. on Ariſtoph.*

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnaſſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaſſus* from λάρναξ *Deucalions Ark* that reſted there; *fides penes autorem*. As for *Tripus* (called by the Latines *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover—tripodes Cortina tegit*) It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been φιάλη a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filled with ψῆφοι, or *calculi, cuts* or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the pot, (ἥλοντο) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to aſk, according to the ſignification they bare, made up the anſwer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called θυμὸς, (as the table-bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called ἴυολμος, and his Wench ἴυολμις.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much *looſe themſelves*, as to go to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the anſwer, and make them more to ſeek than they were before. But that they were reſolved to be

fooled, becauſe forſooth *Apollo* is λοξὸς *crooked* there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he muſt πλαγιάζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. 'Tis his uſe

Senec. Ord. Act. 2. Sc. 1.

Ambage nexâ Delphico mos eſt deo
Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*, οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν ἐφώνουν ἐξ αἰνίγματων γρίφους, in ancient time they made their verſes in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verſe, as he ſaies.

——*dictæ per carmina Sortes.* For *Sortes* they uſually called them, and the Verſe for the moſt part was *Hexameter*, inſomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοτοκλῆς, τοτὼ πρὸ δ' Εὐριπίδης
Ἄνδρων ἢ πάλιν Σωκράτης σοφώτατος,

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, becauſe it was not *heroick* enough to become the Author. [a] *Plutarch* ſaies ſome were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpoſe in the Oracle place. αἵτινες ἐξυφαίνουσι χρησμοὺς ἄγγελα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐπεμβάλλοντες, *to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verſe.* But one reaſon why they delivered their Oracles, in verſe, or in brief, and ſo commonly in obſcurity, was becauſe the god ἀφανίζειν μὲν οὐ θέλει τὸ μάντειον, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet deſirous to make it known, was faine to have it delivered in ſuch manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the ſpeaker, if that anſwere were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it *fell* to proſe (when it began to fall in the price) and the reaſon thereof has been ſufficiently diſputed already by *Plutarch* in a Treatiſe of purpoſe.

[a] De *Pythiæ Oracul.*

The eſteem which they had of thoſe Oracles, was ſuch, that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perſwade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tireſias* his mind, who though he were an *Entrail-gazer* himſelf, yet in *Euripides* you ſhall have him confeſſing to *Creon*, that

Polyæn. l. 2. 27.

that *men were so apt to speak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, besides* Apollo's *own.*

——Φοίβου δ' ἀγχόθι μοῖον
Χρὴ διαπαντοίην, ὅς δεδίκαν ἀΐστα.

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or some body else was naught, and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuisset, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta,* afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non facit. But indeed, she has not been thus along time.* Nay for three hundred years (I think) before *his* time, *Demosthenes* could complain she did φιλιππίζειν, flatter and speak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time she was bribed by *Clysthenes*, to perswade the Lacedemonians to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyranny*; and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perswade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* Κερδῶον θεὸν for nothing. *Plutarch. de Herodot.*

But you will say some other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For so *Cicero* thinks they did in that answer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere posse.* And that, First because *Apollo* did not speak in Latine. 2ly, Because none of the Greek writers mention any such thing. And 3ly, Because the Oracles were not given in verse in *Pyrrhus* his time. *L. 2. de Divin.*

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoriis, & Oraculi cessatione.

ALl this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for feare of saying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or ἀναθήματα, of most of the Princes or people in the world (insomuch that *Aphetoriæ opes*, so said from

from Ἀφέτωρ the name of *Apollo*, who was *omissor Oraculorum*, hath been used as a proverb for *abundance of wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the same place at several times. The first was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Tempe fields*. The second of *Wax* and *Feathers*, or else faigned to be made ἐκ πτερῶν of wings, because the mans name was *Pteras* that built it. The third of Brasse (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minerva* χαλκοίκου.) This, some say, was molten to ground; others, that it was swallowed up by the Earth-quake. The fourth, of stone, destroyed by fire the first year of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphyctions* out of the holy treasure in a very steep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be said concerning the temple, and the E. I. in the frontispiece, the reason whereof is disputed by [a] *Plutarch*, but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Customs, which the Athenians (the devoutest servants of *Apollo*) used in sending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to do him honour, or to ask his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affairs; or for delivery from sickness, or the like. When they went thither, they were said ἀναβαίνειν, when they returned again καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies used in sending Embasses *extraordinary* to *Delphos*, were neer the same with those that were *ordinarily* used in the *Delia-feast* once a year, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes Θεωροί, from the feast, sometimes Θεωροί (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo* Σκοπὸς in *Pindar* (*Pith.γ.*) which some notwithstanding interpret to be his Index, or his *Angel* the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the businesse was called Ἀρχιθέωρος. There were also sent along with them Κήρυκος Μουσικὸς, two that were to be πυθόχρηστοι, or *Eupulones* at *Delos* for that year. The ship in which they went, was first to be adorned with Garlands by the Priest of *Apollo*, and so were the messengers too on the [b] head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ ὀφρυοῦς τ' τετμηῶς ψυχῆς,

Pausan. in Phoc.

[a] περὶ τῶ E. I. τῶ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

[b] Ἦρτο δὲ δ' ἐρέ φαίνοισ δάφνη καθύπερθε κάρηος Ἀπόλλωνος l. 2. Argon.

in

in alluſion *to the three parts of the ſoul.* The ſhip was likewiſe called θωρὶς, and ſometimes δηλιὰς. It was wont to be *Theſeus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at ſuch time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he inſtituted the plaies, and the ſolemnity celebrated by the aforeſaid *Deliaſta*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ſhip the *Athenians* kept for his ſake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὥστε τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐκ τοῦ αὐξανομένων λόγον ἀμφιδεξίωσιν εἶναι τὸ πλοῖον ἐν τῷ μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, τῷ δὲ ὡς ὑ τὸ αὐτὸ φαίνει λεγόντων, *Inſomuch* (ſaies *Plutarch*) *that Philoſophers uſe to illuſtrate that opinion, that the body remains ſtill the ſame, notwithſtanding continual decay, by this ſimilitude.* Beſides this, there were four more *naves ſacræ, viz.* the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were *ſent* for the keeping of the feaſt and the Sacrifice, were called θεωρία. For when they came thither, firſt they [a] Sacrificed: and then the Maids, ſent thither from ſeveral places, fell a Dauncing a ſtrange kind of daunce about the Altar, which they called γέρανον, *Grue* the *Crane*: wherein, their motions being crooked like the Cranes neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings & windings of the Minotaurs Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and biting at a buſh of Olives, with their hands behind them (as our boys do at *ſnapapple*) if ſo much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*. *Trucyd. l. 3.*

[a] Εμπυέσις ποιεόμενοι. *apud Pind. Olym. H.*

Πεὶν μέγαν ἢ σέο βωμὸν ὑπὸ πλαγῶν ἁλίξω, *Hymn. in Del.*
Ῥοδόμενον ἢ ὀφίμον ὀδακτάσι ἄγρὸν ἐλαίης
Χεῖρας ὀπιστερίψαντις, &c.

The Altar was κερατῶν βωμὸς, and therefore called κερατὼν becauſe it was made by *Apollo* at four years old, of the *horns* of the Goats, which his ſiſter *Diana* killed a hunting upon *Cynthus* hill. The horns were all of the left ſide, ſaith *Plut. in Theſeo.* And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis τῶν δεξίων. Whether it ſhould be rendered of the right *ſide*, or *right*, that is fit or handſome, I know not. But ſo ſtrangely were

were theſe hornes joyned together without any Cement, glue, or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the *ſeven ſtrange ſights* Ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ καλουμένοις θαύμασι as *Ovid* ſaies,

Miror & innumeris ſtructam de cornibus aram.

During all theſe holy dayes no malefactor was to ſuffer puniſhment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty dayes, ἕως ἂν ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δήλου ἐπανέλθῃ, ſaith *Xenophon*. When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeiſance as they paſſed by, which made him complaine ſo in *Euripides*.

In Hippol.

Οὐ γὰρ τις μ' ὡς θεὸν τιμᾷν ἀξιοῖ δόμοις
Πύλας ἀνοίξας ἐυρεῖν προσπίτνειν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to ceaſe, is uncertaine: Some ſay, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears to have flouriſhed after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceaſed as ſoon as men had wit enough to adviſe themſelves, without ſeeking to him that made it his buſineſſe to couzen them. *Dion* ſaies, it was *Nero* murthered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went to the [a] *Hyperborean Scythians*: for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Prieſts, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The Athenians when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vowes and prayers in the name of the reſt. And it was their faſhion to ſend gifts and offerings thither, as they had done to Delphos. But what need we doubt of the time or the cauſe, ſince we doubt not of that whith *Prudentius* aſſerts,

[a] *Pulcher Apollo Luſtrat Hyperboreas Delphis ceſſantibus aras. Claudian.*

——*Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,*
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt ſortibus antra.
Non Tripodas Cortina tegit, non ſpumat anhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit inſanos mendax Dodona vapores
Nec reſponſa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The

The Oracle place, (τὸ ἀδυτον or χρηστειον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have beene at first a kind of *Schoole* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Devill to this delusion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almost inaccessible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *height*. *Dodona's* Grove is thought to have beene such another *Schoole*, *viz.* for the off-spring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a paire of Doves, that should come from Ægypt, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in *Epiras*, and there using the voyce of a man, among other good instructions, gave order for the building of a Temple in that place; which was done by *Deucalion* after his ship came thither (while I speake of these things, I cannot but thinke upon *Noah* and his Arke, and his Dove) besides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. These two Oracles are reckoned the most *ancient* of all, and of these two, the last. Τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον τοῦτο νενόμισται δευτεραῖον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστείων. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by most, that those *Doves* were certaine Women-priests or Prophets, fetcht from *Ægypt* (the Mart of superstition) by the *Phœnicians* first, and from them conveyd'd into *Thessaly*. Now in the *Thessalian* language, the same word which signifies a Dove, is used also to signifie a Propheteſſe, ἡ πελειὰς. *Eustathius* sayes, that in the *Thessalian* tongue *old Women* were called πελειαὶ, and *old Men* πελειοὶ, and that those Propheteſſes being three old women, whose names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, & *Nicandre*, either by mistake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly supposed to be Doves. The same author also sayes, that perhaps those women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greekes would scarce allow to be men and women) for their rude brutish language might have beene counted as so many birds. But it seemes to have beene no such strange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the name of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron*

Herodot.

In Illiad. β.

phron calls *Caſſandra* by the name Φάτιν *Palumbes*: though in another place ſhe have the name of a more tatling Bird, *viz:* Φοιβύλεπτος χελιδὼν the Swallow, The Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachiniæ*) hath another conjecture more beſides that which I named laſt, *viz:* That theſe Prophiteſſes had the name of πελειάδες: or rather, if you will, the old women therefore had the name of πελειαὶ, becauſe they were πεπολιωμένα gray hared and aged.

Strabo ſpeaks of foure Prieſts called Ἕλλοι ἀπὸ ἑλῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν, from the *fens* neer the Temple, *viz.* of *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common alſo to the Prieſts. *Homer* calls them Σελλοὶ, ſaying

—ἀμφὶ ϑ' Σελλοὶ
Ναίουσιν δ' ἀνιπόδες χαμαὶ εὐδοντες.

They uſed not to waſh their feet, and lay upon the ground when they ſlept. When they gave anſwer, they got them amid'ſt the boughs, and ſo the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from *between* them. They are called ϑεσπιῳδοὶ δρυὸς, and μαντικαὶ δρυὸς, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lychophron* called [a] λάλητρον κίονα. Round about the Temple ſtood Baſins of Braſſe, one juſt againſt the other περιηλων κρημνῶν, ſaith *Euſtathius*, or which if you ſtruck but one, all the reſt would cry, and make ſuch a noyſe, that at length *Æs Dodonæum* became a Proverb. Belike they uſed to ſtrike theſe Baſons as they uſed to do other Baſons and Pots, with a Ring held by a thread in the hand, and ſtriking the ſides of the veſſell ſo many times, to make a Divination by the ſounds.

[a] *Cæco Tomuri jovis augureluco Arbore præſagâ tabulas animâſſe Loquaces.* Claudian.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per somnium, super Meletas in Templis, cum observatione diætæ.

PRophecying by a *Dream*, was either ὀνειροπολικὴ, *Somniatoria*, of a *Dreamer* of *Dreams*, or ὀνειροκριτικὴ *Conjectoria*, of an *Interpreter* of Dreams, such as *Hecuba* spake of, when she said ὡς μοι κρίνω τοῖς ὀνείρασι. The latter of these surely belongs to the *technicall* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Ariolation*. For he that shall object that speaking but *sometimes* true, does not argue skill, because *si sæpe jactaveris, quandoq; venerem jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be answered with this question, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Besides if it were no Art, what talk we of *Xenophon's* Dreams in his service with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were so many books written of this subject? For, to say nothing of [a] eleven more that wrote of purpose of it, nor of the Treatise περὶ ἐνυπνίων reported by [b] *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his books, *Artemon Milesius* wrote two and twenty books of it himself; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourscore *Senarii* Verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a Dream. But the Dream (you must understand) was not every ὄναρ, or *vain* dream (for so does the Etymology import, ὀδὸν τὸν τοῦ ὄντος ἀληθοῦς ἄρσιν, saies *Eustathius*) but ὕπαρ, or ἔνυπνος, a *morning dream*, fresh and fasting, such as ὕπαρ is, saith [c] *Homer*, which they derive παρὰ τὸ ὑπὸ ἕωσιν, which comes about waking time, or ὄνειρος which they derive ὀδὸν ἀπὸ ὑπάρ τοῦ τὸ ὂν εἶρειν, and of such is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymn*: Ἄγγελε μαντόσυνον ὀνειροῖς χρησμῶς δὲ μίγνυσι. I believe few that read me are such as *Plutarchs Thrasymede*, or *Plinies Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dream, and therefore I will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured who

[a] *Hadr. Jun. animad.*

[b] *In Pompeio.*

Lib.1.Divin.

[c] Οὐχ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ πιτνάσμενον ἔσαν. *Hom. Odyss.* T.

who was the first *conjectour* in this kind. [a] *Pliny* saies, *Amphyctyon*, *Deucalion*'s son; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Joseph*, *Pausanius* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, whom he reports to have been deified for his skill; and that they used to sacrifice to him, when they looked for a dream. They talk that the people that lived neer *Boristhenes*, and the *Gades*, were excellent at this work; and so were those that lived at the [b] *Hiblæ*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But among all, the *old doting women* were best at it.

[a] *Lib. 7. Cap. 5.*

[b] *Pausan. Eliac. Propertius Lib. 2. El. 4.*

Quæ mihi non decies somnia versat anus.

When they desired to dream a prophetical dream, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and sleep upon the fleece. For thus the *Daunii* used to do in the Temple of [c] *Chalchas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melotæ* *sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it seems, it was a common practise both for dreaming; for *Virgil* also saies,

[c] Ενα γ' ζειν ὃ ἐπὶ τῷ μέλανα κῴον ὃν μαντεύόμενοι ἐγκοιμώμενοι ἐν τῷ δέρματι *Strabo l. 6.*

—— Cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnoque petivit.

And also for *purifying* a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and other sacrifices: for they took the skins of beasts that had been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Διὸς κώδια) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no small use of fleeces and skins in several other businesses; as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) sate upon a fleece for a cushon, to shew her purpose *Lanificio intendere* of spinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd mad tricks with skins. For among them, if a man had been wronged, and need of help to revenge himself, he would sacrifice an Ox, and cut the flesh into pieces and boyl it, and sit upon the skin with his hands behind him, and so beg for help. Then come his friends, and every one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot on the skin, promised either men or arms: or what he best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast engage-

Cal. Rodig.

engagement, and much conducing to the succeſſe. Sometimes they would go and ſleep in the Temple with Laurel, or ſome ſuch fatidical ſtuff tyed about their heads, and ſacrifice to [a] *Brizo*, the goddeſſe of the *dreamers*, ſo called from Βρίζειν to *ſleep*. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpoſe to *ſleep* in the Temple of *Paſithia*, to watch for dreams. So if any were *ſick*, they would go and ſleep in the Temple of *Æſculapius* to *dream of a remedy*, (as they have uſed to do with us, to go watch at the Church door, to know who ſhall dye next) *Pluto* in *Ariſtophanes* did ſo,

[a] Αὐ τὲ ἡ δεῖ ὑ ἐν ὕπνῳ μαντε *Athenæum l. 8.*

Κατακλίνομεν τ πλοῦτον, ὅπως ἐν χὸς ᾖ.

And the like was wont to be done in *Ægypt* in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has ſufficiently declared the vanity of all this doings in ſaying,

Non delubra deûm, nec ab æthere numina mittunt *Sat. 6.*
Sed ſibi quiſque facit.

Beſides all this they took a ſpecial care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtain from wine for *three*; as likewiſe to forbear eating Beans or raw fruit. *Ariſtotle* ſaies, there is no credit to be given ὀνείρῳ πωεινοῖς ἐνυπνίοις, to *dreame in the Autumn*. But *Plutarch* queſtions that again, and ſaies if we eat good and ripe fruit, ἥδον ἀ παπλοῖς, ἡ ψεύ- *Sympoſ. l. 9.* δον ἐνυπνίοις σύνεσθαι, *our dreams will be the truer*. *Fiſh*, either they couted very good, or very bad. For when they ſacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boats full of all manner of things but Fiſh; whether it were to pleaſe the goddeſſe with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the rejection of the worſt, I cannot tell. [b] *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſower* in the *dream*, as 'tis ſweet in the *taſt*: and therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately uſed. Some choice there was alſo of the *colour* of their Cloaths. For the whiteſt and cleareſt was beſt, σαλὼ λευκὼ καθαρὸν ἐν ὕπνοις εἶναι, ſaies *Suidas*: as if Dreams and Viſions muſt needs be the *clearer*. The trueſt dreams (ἐνυπνια) or the cleareſt viſions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the

[b] *Cæl. Rhod. l. 27. c. 10.*

[a] Ὡς δὲ ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον ἐπύθοντο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ.
Odyss. δ.

morning (the former time [a] *Homer* calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγὸν, *the milking time in the Morning*, in opposition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγὸς *the milking time in the Evening*)

——ἔγγυθι δ' ἠοὶ
Εὕδει κ' ἀρτεκέως πεπαιρεται ἀθρόα ὀνείρα.

[b] *Namque sub aurora jam dormit ante lucernâ Tempore quo veri somnia vera solent.*

saies *Theocritus:* and [b] *Ovid* was of the same mind. *Pliny* saies a dream is never true presently after eating & drinking. But *Artemedorus* saies tis all one for that, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄμεινον ὄψεαι ἐὰν ὀψὲ τῆς ἡμέρης παρίχωσιν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἐνύπνιον, for if *you eat too much, the dream will never be the truer if is tarry till morning.*

CAP. IV.

De *duabus portis.*

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were fain to make two distinct doors for them to come in by, one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope* her self could tell *Ulysses* (when she desired him to interpret her dreams)

Odyss. τ.

Δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

In Ephemer. *Ausonius* saies as much; telling you which are the true, and which the false,

Et geminas numera portas quæ fornice eburno
Semper fallaces glomerant super aëra somnos,
Altera quæ veros emittit cornea visus.

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed the same. *Philostratus* saies, that in allusion to these doors, they used to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black, and a *Horn* in his hand. The door for the *true* dreames was of *Horn*.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τοῦ χρυσόμαλλον δι' οὗ τὰς πύλας.

Nonnus dion. δ.

(Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when they slept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for the

the *falſe* and *deceitfull* dreames, was of Ivory, ſuch as that wherewith *Morpheus* was cozened with in the Poet,

Μόρφεα δ' ὑπνώοντα παρήμαρον ὄψις ὀνείρου
Κλειτύος ἐλέφαντος ἀπαίξαντα πυλάων. *Nonn.*

Lucian therefore jeeres the covetous *Micyllus* for wiſhing his *dream-doore* were of *Gold*, whereas there were but thoſe two in all, as may be gathered by theſe words in [a] *Plato*. Ἄκυε τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ εἴτε διὰ κεράτων εἴ τῳ δοκεῖ εἴτε ἐλεφάντων. The reaſon of thoſe names, I finde very prettily gueſſed at by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* at the place above commended, and I ſhall deſire your patience to tell them. Firſt, the true (ſaies he) comes by the Horn-doore, or ἐκ κέρατος: becauſe τὰ ἔτυμα κερόουσι, or κραίνουσι, that is, *effectum reddunt*, they ſay no more then comes to paſſe, whereas thoſe that come in by the Ivery-doore, or ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἐλεφαίρουσι, or ἐλεφαίρονται, delude the dreamer with a fruitleſſe hope of truth. 2ly, Κερατίνη ὀπτασία, the *coming in by the Horne* is as much as coming *cleerly*, for one may ſee through horne, if it be made thin: ἐλεφαντίνη, the other *confuſedly*, for one cannot ſee through Ivory, nor any other ſuch white things, as milke or the like, if they be never ſo little, and ſo *Macrobius* does Interpret it too. 3ly, By the Κέρας is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κερατοειδὴς χιτὼν, *cornea tunica*, the firſt *coat* of the eye. And by the ἐλέφας the mouth, or the *Ivory-coloured* teeth, ἐλεφαντὸς κρύπτει ὀδόντας: and ſo the meaning muſt be, that which is to be *ſeen* with the *eye* is likelier, then that which is but *ſaid* to be ſo from the *teeth*. And this was alſo the opinion of *Servius* concerning the ſame fiction, upon thoſe words of *Virgil*,

Sunt Geminæ ſomni portæ, &c.

4ly, By the *Horn-doore*, may be meant the paſſage for the more Heavenly and Diviner ſort of dreames, κέρινοι ὀνειραι, or δόκιμοι: by the other, the entrance for the ἐλέφαντες: the more earthly, groſſe, and confuſed, Becauſe the Elephants *Proboſcis* turnes downeward towards the earth, whereas the hornes

[a] *In Charmide.*

[b] Speaking of ſleep ſaies he. *Hoc velamen cum in quiete ad verum uſque aciem animæ introſpicientis admittit de eorum creditur, cujus iſta natura eſt, ut tenuatum viſui pervium ſit, cum autem à vero habitat as repellit, obtuſum, ebur putatur cujus &c. l. c. 3. in Somnium. Scip.*

hornes of other beasts look upward toward Heven. Sly, Ἐλεφαντ, is the doore for the false dreams, because there can be no other but false dreams expected, when the *teeth* have eaten too much.

The Guests which are to come in by these doores, were thought to be *Ghosts* and *Spirits* from Hell. *Umbræ, shadows* they might well be: and such as ascend in a *fume* too, like Furies from the nether part of the body. Againe, as Ghosts are —ψυχὴ ὀνείρῳ, said to fly in and out like dreames, and death is a sleep: so dreames are said to fly in and out like Ghosts, and sleepe is a death. *Lychophron* calls them νυκτίπτατα δείματα, *Night-walking-Bug-beares*. Fly they did with *blacke wings*, like Batts of the night: and therefore *Euripides* calls a dreame μελανοπτέρυγον, *Orphaus* πανσκίοπτερυγον *Lucian* πτηνὸν. If this be so, the reason why before they went to bed, when they meant to dreame, they used to sacrifice a Victime, to *Mercury*, was, it may be, not so much because of his *Rod*, with which he brought people a sleepe, and awakened them againe, as because hee was Gentleman-usher of the Ghosts: for what reason soever it was, it seemes *Mercury* was most in their minds when they were ready to sleepe: and therefore as at feasts, so at other times, the last of their prayers was to him, and the last health that went round was his. For so we finde *Calasiris* in *Heliodorus*, ἐπὶ κλίσιν, &c. After he had prayed to all the rest of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for εὐόνειρον νύκτα, *a night of good dreames*. Hence was it that they used to fasten τοὺς ἑρμᾶς, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἐρμῆνες. When they sacrificed that *victime*, they used to take the tongue and burn it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and speech to be consecrated. ὡς τῷ λέγειν καὶ ἑρμηνείας ἔχοντα, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. With whom agrees *Athenæus*, προσνίσσονται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γλῶσσαν διὰ τὴν Ἑρμηνείαν. Others who did not think dreams to be Ghosts, yet would have them to be put into the head by Spirits, as

Plato

a *Homer. Odyss. 4.*

L. 3. Suidas.

b *Schol. on Odyss. 12.*

Plut.

Plato who thought the aire to be full of such things. And so *Democritus* (as the Scholiast reports, who sayes that he had it from *Homer* himselfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dream κατ' εἰσρεῦσιν καὶ ἐμπάσεις, or (as[a] *Plutarch* has it from the same man) κατὰ διαπλάσεις τῶν εἰδώλων, according to this composition or separation of Images, or Ghosts, or Phancies, or somewhat. But indeed I thinke those εἴδωλα, should not be so much Images as Imaginations, nor so much *umbræ* Ghosts, as *adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the phancy proceeding from the *spirits* within, and not from those without.

In Odyss. δ.

[a] De *Placit. Philos.*

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum lustratione.

FOR their *descent*, they thought all dreames to have one common mother the *Earth*. χθὼν μήτηρ ὀνείρων, saies *Euripides*. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason, ὅτι ἐκ γῆς ἀναφορά, ἐκ δὲ τῶν βρωτῶν ὕπνος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὕπνου ὄνειρος, because *from the earth comes meat, from meat sleepe, and from sleepe dreames.* Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the *Moon*, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *Kind* of Dreames, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. Φαντασμα, 2. Ἐνύπνιον, 3. Ὅραμα, 4. Χρηματισμός. Others divided them into Ἀθρησεικὸς, and Διορηματικὸς ὀνείρους, Θεωρηματικοὶ were οἱ τὴν ἑαυτῶν δέμα φαντασιοῦται, *when things appeared in their owne likenesse*. Ἀλληγορικοὶ were when they appeared in the likenesse of *other* things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant. Such as *Cæsar's* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed *Imperium orbis terræ portandi, quæ omnium viventium sit mater*, that the whole earth, the mother of every living thing was to be *under* him. Nay the distinction of dreames was so accu-

curate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no leſſe than three ſervants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dreame that ſhould concern *men*, he made uſe of *Morpheus*, if *beaſts*, of *Phobetor* (as *men* called him) or *Icelos* (as the *gods* called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris —*

Ovid. Met. l.12.f.10.

if inanimate creatures (*quæque vocant animâ —*) of him that had the name of *Phantaſos*) I wonder how he could remember all the ſhapes, and the river of *Lethe* ſpring in his houſe, and his houſe be as darke as a den, as any among the *Cimmerii*, for ſo it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with any of the beſt? Yes by all means, as ſoon as I ariſe, be ſure to tell it to *Veſta*, or ſome other houſhold *ſtuff*, *diis penatibus.*

Vadit & hinc caſtæ narratum ſomnia Veſtæ
Quæ ſibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.

Propert. l.2. Eleg.29.

Or if you thinke this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιον, ἀλεξίκακον, or προστατήριον, becauſe his Image uſed to ſtand in the *Porches*. Some had rather to doe it to *Hercules*, and ſome to *Jupiter*, as *he* does in *Plautus*. But there is better reaſon why they ſhould do it to the *Sun*, *viz.* Ἐναίτιος δὲ ἐοικὸς ἡ τῷ νυκτὶ ἀποτροπαῖος ἐργάζηται, &c. *Becauſe the Sun being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evills brought by the ſame.* They are the words of the Scholiaſt upon that of *Sophocles* —ἡλίῳ δείκνυσι τύχας, &c. They called this action ἀποπομπαῖον, ἀποδιοπομπαῖον, and ἀποχύσασθαι ἐννυχον ὕδωρ, but moſt properly, καταστρωννύειν τῷ ἡλίῳ. It was practiſed by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when ſhe had dreamt of the fall of the houſe: although ſhe (or the Poet) had ſo much wit as to thinke it to be to little purpoſe.

In Electr.

Eurip. in Hec.

Idem in Taur.v.43.

Ἀλλὰ δ' ἥκει τοὐξ ὕπνου φάσματα
Λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ· ἢ τόδ' ἐς ἄκρ.

If you thinke that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and waſh your ſelfe luſtily in the

the cold River till you ſweat.

——ſub lucem ut viſa ſecundent.
Orocælicolas, & vivo purgor in amne. *Sil. Ital. l. 3.*

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountain, as he did in * *Æſchylus.* * *In Perſis.*

Ἔστι δ' ἀνέστιν ἐς χέρσιν ποτιῤῥόᾳ
Ἑλώτα πηγῆς σὺν δυσπάλῳ χαλᾷ
Βυμῷ περισσὸν ἀποβραίοις δάμοσι
Θέλκτα δύσαι πέλαγος.

If you think no *cold* water will do it, call for *hot*, as he does in *Ariſtophanes.*

——ὀκ ποτίμων δεῖσθαι ἄρχει *In Ranis.*
Θέρματα δ' ὕδωρ
Ὡς ἀνδαῖον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύσω.

But perhaps no kind of *freſh* water is ſtrong enough; you may do well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they uſed to waſh away not only the evil of a dream, but of a crime, or diſeaſe, or any thing elſe: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Ægypt*, being troubled with the falling-ſickneſs, was bid by the Prieſt, to bath himſelf in the ſea, and being by that meanes cured, he preſently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his ſight. After murther (for other ſins they ſcarce thought great enough, *to caſt hot water*) it was a common practice; and then no fear of the diſpleaſure of a god for the future.

λυμαθ' ἁγνίσει ἁμὰ
Μῆνιν βαρεῖαν ἐξαλίσομαι δίκας.

SECT II.

De divinatione artificiosâ, & primo de Ornithomantiâ.

THE *Technical* part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entralls of Beasts. Besides which were σημεια or καλλόνες ominous words, or things, *Il. A.* σύμβολα ἐνύδρια, κλῆδες lots, τέρατα sights, and indeed ἄπειρα μύρια (as the Scholiast saith upon *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two first were every where most in use. *Cicer. l. 1. Divin.* *Quæ est autem gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum aut Augurum, aut sortium prædictione moveatur?* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisidians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedemonians* had so great esteem of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car.* *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car. à quo Caria nomen habet: adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* *L. 7. c. 55.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding useful to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people *Il. B.* with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the war should last, by the number of Sparrows destroyed by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

Nam quot aves tetro mactatas dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exant labimus annos
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœna satiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, because he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow (say

(ſay ſome) or how many Figs upon the Fig-tree (ſaith *Heſiod*) which *Mopſus*, with whom he conteſted, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, ἐρισθμαν εἶα, or οἰωνιστικὴ, it was οἰονιστικὴ at firſt with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as being ἐν τῇ νῦ ἢ διανοίᾳ ποιζωμένη αἰθρωπίνη ὄνησις: but *now* (ſaith *Ariſtides*) they write it with *omega* τὸ ὦ σεμύνοντες, *to give the better grace to the word*: and it is ſtill uſed as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as ἔρις, and οἰωνὸς a *bird*, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* faſhion to wear a white garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latines) and to have his οἰωνιστήριον his *place* and his *ſeat* appointed for the purpoſe, τοὺ θάκους, or θώκους.

Εἰς γὸ παλαιὸν θῶκον ἐρισθοπόσους ἴζον. Saies he in *Sophocles*. And the Scholiaſt upon the words θάκοι in *Euripides* ſaies, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tireſias* uſed to ſit and divine. When they went to it ὅτι οἰωνοσκόποι ἐν δέλτοις ἐσημειῶν τινὰς πτῆσις (ſaith the ſame Scholiaſt) doubting their *memory* might not ſuffice, they carried their *Table-books* with them, and wrote down the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the *ſeeing* too *Tiriſias* being blind, and only able to *fore-ſee*, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to do for him: by which means ſhe her ſelf at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. Yea not only the *habit* of the Greek *Augures*, but their manner of obſerving was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis ſignis? Aliter obſervant, aliter reſpondent*, ſaies *Cicero*. The Greeks accounted the *right ſide* the luckieſt, *Graiis & Barbaris dextra meliora*: the Romans the *left*. Although (to ſpeak the truth) the *ſide* was the ſame, only the *poſture* of the *Augures* was different. For the Grecians looked towards the North, and the Romans toward the ſouth, & the word *ſiniſtra* for *lucky* or *good ſigns*, came not ſo much *à ſiniſtra manu* from the

In Antigon.

L. 2.

the *hands* being left; as a *finendo*, from the *man*'s being left to his pleasure to set upon his enterprize if he would. So saies *Festus*: and *Cicero* thus, *Quanquam haud ignoro quæ bona sunt sinistra nos dicere, etiamsi dextra sint.* But yet this was the manner of speech, *viz.* For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies [a] δεξιὰ *right* (and therefore *Statius* may seem to have mistaken, when he spake of Grecian Augury,

[b] *Signa feras leuusque tones*—) the Romans sometimes *dextra*, and sometimes *læva*; but the one *more suo*, and the other *more Græco*. *Unluckie* birds (a word used among us for an unhappy *wag*) they called οἰωνοὺς ἀριστεροὺς, or ἀριστέρους, when they fled not, or *picht* not in their usual height or place. This last word puts me in mind of that saying of *Hippolitus* perhaps in allusion to it.

—ἐκπέπαυσαί με
Λίγειν παρελθόντες ἐξ ἕδρας ἑρεῖν.

Sometimes they are called ἀποθύμιοι, or κωλυτικοὶ *inhibæ*, εἱρκτικοὶ *arculæ*, and ἀσχάλιοι (as in [c] *Apollonius*) ab ἴσχω *cedo*, as who would say *non sinistræ*, or *non sinentia*; as I told you before. And such they commonly counted those that had long talons or scratcht their heads as they fled, such (as they say) were seen upon *Cassius* his Tent before his defeat: the Latines call them *Volsgras*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy against a few paltry birds? yes I have read in *Apuleius* of a trick to kill one or two of the Worser sort, and hang them up at the door: as we use to do dead Crows upon a stick in the field, to scare the living away: Saies he, *Istas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicitè prehensas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infaustis volatibus familiæ minantur, exitium suis luant cruciatibus* Birds that were *luckie* either in their nature, or the place they appeared in, were called αἴσιοι, or ὄρνιθοι, that is, such as were not ἀξέδρου (*unseatly*, or *unsightly* as we use to say) but appeared παμφανέντες ἐν ἕδρᾳ, (as [d] *Æschylus* has it) in their proper *sphear* or *seat*, such they counted Doves, and the ἴυγξ in matters of Love:

as

[a] Ζεὺς δέ σοι ἐκ νεφέων ἰδὼς ἐν δεξιὰ σήματα φαίνει, *Saies Ajax Hom. Il.* 10.

[b] *Theb.*

Eurip. Hippol. v. 934.

[c] Κέρκον περοῖς ἑρπομένοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κόσσα τίλλοντα. *Saies Æschylus.*

Metam. li. 3.

[d] Ὄρνιν ἰδὼν πινὰ ἐκ ἐν αἰσίοις ἕδραις. *Eurip. in Hec.*

as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continuall crowing, in matters of War. For hereupon the Augures once foretold the *Thebans* a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, cancre, si vicisset.* Cock-fightings indeed were usually σπουδαστικοὶ saith [a] *Artemedorus*, *signes of sedition and discord.* But then you must except the Cock *matches* kept once a yeare in the Theatre, and instituted by [b] *Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the *Persians*, from whom [c] the Cock first came into *Athens*. This bird being alwayes very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictured with a Cock: insomuch that it was their ordinary sacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Aristophanes in Avibus* calls it Ἄρεως ὄρνιν *Mars his owne bird.* All birds (saith one) were either μαντικὰ, or μυσικὰ, or θαλάττια. The μαντικὰ (I believe) were not many besides Crowes, and Eagles, and Doves, and Owles the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augures came to understand by being lickt by Snakes, or some such venemous and veneficiall meanes: *Qui credit ista* (saies *Pliny*) *& Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis Dracones non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia. Eustathius* saies, that *Helenus* and *Cassandra* were thus licked cleane into Augurs, Ἕλενον καὶ Κασσάνδραν ὃν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὄφεις καθάραντες ὦτα ἔτυχον ἐξηκόους ἱερεύσασθαι ἀκέοντας τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀκοάς. I am glad I am saved the labour to reprove those fellowes *my selfe*. For it seems that the wiser sort even amongst them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's tale, when they had a mind to be serious. Looke in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban *Augur* (who had disswaded from fighting, by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies hee, *you may, if you thinke good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds, till*

[a] *Lib.3.c.5.*

[b] *Ælian. Var. Hist.l. 2.c.28.*

[c] *Athen.l.14.*

Rosin.

[x] *In Aristoph. Aves.*

till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion.

Εἰς ὀιωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *oscinentes chirping* and *gibing* their spectators for their superstition.

Ἐπιὲν δ' ὑμᾶν δαίμων, ἀλφοὶ δωδώνη φοῖβός θ' Ἀπόλλων,
Ἐλθόντες γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπ' ὄρνεις ὕτω περὶς ἅπαντα τρίπιδι.

CAP. I.

De extispicina, & quibusdam aliis.

DIvination by the Entrals of Beasts, or *Extispicina* (for so *Aruspicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *à potiori* from the best part of it (was more common then that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur* saies *Cicero*:) and especially at *Elis* where it was, by the two families of the *Jamidæ*, and the [a] *Clytidæ*, and *Thelmessas* in *Caria* much improved. *Tirisias* had so great skill in this art (I cannot say *insight*, because *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindnesse*) that even after his death, among the Ghosts there were none but [b] his. *Ulysses* himselfe was faine to trouble his soule to come back againe to give him advise. The whole businesse of Divining at the offering of a victime (for there was something else to doe besides poring in the guts) was called ἱεροσκοπία. And a very solemne businesse it was, being usually attended with a feast, according to that,

—ὅπποι πολυσπερέες δολιχοσκιόωσι.

Θυηκὴ, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμοιβολαὶ, and the act of cutting ἱερωτᾶν. The signes observed were most properly called σημῖα, and the observers σημειωτικοὶ. If the beast were drawne by force to the slaughter, if it escaped by the way, avoyded the blow, fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying kept

[a] *Pindar.*

[b] πρὶν ἢ τειρεσίαο θεσπεσίην φρένα σῶσαι. *Hom. Odyss. K.*

Eurip. Elect. v. 835.

kept beating the ground, they were all ill signs. For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Ægysthus*.

----πᾶν ἢ σῶμ ἄνω κάτω *Ibid.*
ἤσπαιρεν· ἠλάλαζε δ᾽ ἀθῴωσκον φόνῳ.

Ill signs, I say those were; and so was any thing else that either was contrary to nature or use, or put themselves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with ease, the beast not striving, and the blood presently darting out, as it is said it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

——αἵματος δ᾽ ἀπῤῥοαὶ *Id. m.*
Εἰς οἶδμ᾽ ἐσηκόντιζον ἄκεα *v.* 1603.

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very σάλπατα or *wagging* of his tail, whence that in the Poet.

---Ἦ κἀμὲ σοὶ κύων καλῶς;

The beasts that were thus used were antiently sheep, and Goats, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of Sows, and the *Famidæ* of Dogs; which was the reason why [c] *Thrasibulus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* with a Dog lying by him dissected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his shoulder. [c] *Paus. in Eliac.*

In *Fissiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took most notice of the *Liver*, which [b] *Philostratus* saies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chair*, and the *key* of the work. For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the rest of the body must needs be so too; insomuch that the work about all the bowels was called ἱπποσκοπία, a *looking* into the *liver*. The Concavous part of the Liver was called ἑστὰς *familiaris*, because the signes which they observed there, concerned *themselves and their friends*: the *Gibbous* side, ἐπίβολις or ἀντιβάς *hostilis*, because the tokens in it concerned their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans) The place or *seat* in which all the parts of the liver lay, was called λῆξις δοχὴ: the place between the parts in the middle πυ- [b] Ἐν ἅπαν φασὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸ μαντικὸν εἶδος τὸ ἧπαρ εἶναι ὅσπερ τρίποδα ἢ θρόνον. *Heſych.*

λαῖα, and εὐρυχωρία. [a] *Hesychius* calls it, ὑδρὸς, or ἐκπρεπὴς, *Euripides* πυλὰς.

a χ. ad orat. Demost. Coron.

——πυλαὶ χθονὸς πύλας
Καλὰς ἔχειν τὸν σὸν πόσιν ἀφεσβολάς

If there were δίψας (as they called it) too *much dryth*, or ἄτομος a *tye between the parts*, or especially if it were ἄλοβον, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill sign: according to that of *Appian* τὰ ἐφῶτα ἄλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δ' ὑπερφυᾶ εἰς θάνατον. This and other such signs because they were so bad, that they feared to *go any farther in it*; they called ἀκέλδεια. When they came to handle the heart, they called it καρδιάζειν, or καρδιάλκειν. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill sign. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (κνίσση δὲ κῶλα συγκαλύπτει) saies *Æschylus*, and so were σπλάγχνων πτύχες, *plaits* and *foldings*, saies *Euripides*.

L. 2.

Hesych.

When they came to *burning*, then they were said more properly δι' ἐμπύρων καπνίζειν. At *Delphos* they had πυρκόοι *officers* of purpose for the work. The *fire* which they made use of for this occasion, was in most places made of some peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Egypt* they had the *Seraphim*, and among the Persians, the fire which they worshiped under the name of *Orimasda*. At *Athens* they had a torch still burning in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* constantly there to see it renewed; just as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the Temple of *Vesta*.

Xenoph.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever he in *Helena* say to the contrary, where he speaks against all other divinations too.

V. 751.

Οὐδ' ὧδ' ἀρύγες ἐν πυρὶ νεμπύρευ ἄλοχος,

Good signs in the flame were these, if it went upright without a noise, if it continued till all were consumed; or if it suddenly began to have the latter sign, instead of ῥίζας *cleft wood*, which they used at other times, they would get small dry sticks that would soonest take fire, τὰ φρύγανα, according

cording to that,

Οὐκ ἂν δικαίως σοὶ μαντικὸς τὸ φρύγανον πήδαν. *Aristoph. in Pace.*

Now indeed many times ᾗ ἔστιν ἄσημα καὶ ἄσαφῆ, μαντεύονται οἱ μάντεις πῦρ βλάπτοντες, that is, the Priests being *divinaturi magis sagaces* [c] *Flammarum, divined by the burning, when there was nothing seen in the cutting*: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders μαλλοδέτους κύστεις) put into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and *which way it darted* the Urine, καὶ πῇ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἀκοντίζει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good sign. In matters of hostility, they took most notice of the *gall*, and the ἀκρόχολα ἐσφάζον, ἡμαμπὰς in the flame: and very good reason, πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροῖσι, *for enemies are as bitter as the gall they burnt.* Of the Ashes too they took some notice μαντεῖα καὶ δόλῳ, saies *Sophocles*. In the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the flesh. And so at other times they used to throw frankincense and Poppey, and other several things in the fire, for nothing else but to observe such things, and to *tell the smoak*. Besides these were infinite more *Divelish* sorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκυομαντεία or Νεκυομαντεῖα, was sometimes by the magical use of a *bone*, or a *vain* of a dead body, after the fashion of the *Thessalians*, or else by powring hot blood into the carcasse, to make it answer a question, as *Erictho* does in *Lucian*,

[c] *Sil. Ital.*

Eurip. in Phæn.

Μάντεις μὲν ἁλ[ώ]μαμπὰς πύρες τ' ἀκμαὶς ῥήξεις τ' ἐνώμων ὑγρότητ' ἐναντίαν Νίκης τ' ἄπωθεν καὶ πάνυ.

[a] *In Oedip. Tyr.*

Κλαὺν θεσπεσίων ἀπὸ νεκύων ἀψύχων λαιψηρὰν πλευτὰν κώπην.

——*Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit*
Protinus astrictus calluit cruor, atráque fovit
Vulnera &c.——

Now because the *Ghost* or the *Soul* was thus recalled to the body (——*animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes termed ψυχομαντεία or Σκιομαντεία, *Divining by the Soul*, or the *Ghost*. But such as expected any answer thus from the soul *then*, must be sure to be kind to the body *before*:

Horac.

Herod. l. 6. for *Meliſſa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refuſed to anſwer him, becauſe he had buried her body as he ſhould. But ſurely
[b] *Sta. l. 4.* there was ſomewhat worſe than a ſoul, elſe what need of *luſtration* of the party? Such as *Tireſias* uſed to the [b] *Theban* King, to keep him from the receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was ſometimes by Sea-water, but moſt commonly by that of a *fountain*, and ſo was called ὑδρομαντεία. It was done ſeverall waies. 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a *Poet* too) ὃς τῶν ἱερῶν ὑδάτων πάντες μάντεις γινόμενοι, ſaies *Ariſtides* in his *Orat. de Puteo*. 2ly, By throwing things
Pauſan. in Lacon. into it to try whether they would ſink or ſwim, as they did *cakes* in the well of *Ino*. 3ly, By *ſeeing the Images* of ſuch things as they ſought for, eſpecially in the Well of *Apollo Thryxeus* in *Achaiah*. 4ly, By *dypping a glaſſe* in the water, to know what would become of a *ſick* man. For as he lookt well or ill in the glaſſe, accordingly they preſumed of his future condition. 5ly, By throwing in *three ſtones*, and obſerving the *round* they made in the ſinking. Sometimes they made uſe of Oyl, or of Wine inſtead of Water: and ſo it was termed χύτλα, as when it was done in a Baſon, λεκανομαντεία. λιθομαντεία, was by a *Sideritis*, a kind of *loadſtone*, which if they waſht in Spring-water, would ſpeak like a child. With ſuch a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the deſtruction of Troy. κοσκινομαντεία, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers, and turning round at the naming of the party that ſtole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl.* 3. And I have ſeen it uſed by ſome women, *impiâ fraude*, or *anili ſuperſtitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leaſure (neither indeed is it *ſanti*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of δακτυλομαντεία, with *Gyges* his *ring*: or of ᾠοσκοπία with *Eggs*, which *Suidas* ſaies *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of κεδρομαντία with *barley*, or of λυχνομαντία, by
L. 30. c. 11. the *burning of a candle*, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Natural Hiſtory*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognoſticks*. To which you may adde their common old-wives-*Sawes* concerning weather

ther or the like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those more *Astrological* and *Rational*, such as that of *Virgil*.

Luna Revertentem, &c. with the rest.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have spoken is to conjecture by *things*, but there is a way by *words* also; by which according as the words were good or bad, they presaged such and such events. Such words were called κληδόνες or φῆμαι, from φάναι (suitable to the name of *Propheta:*) as *omen* comes from *oremen, quia fit ore* (quoth *Festus.*) You may render it *voices* (for so we use to call those prophetick speeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture also does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*: *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observarunt, sed etiam hominum.* Any words that either boded ill, or signified that which they disliked, they called βλάσφημα: and he that used them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was said to Βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν to *blaspheme* him φθέγγεσθαι βλασφημίαν *Euripides* calls it, where he speaks of certain ominous speeches let fall at a feast by a servant, just as one of the company was going to drink *L. 1: Divin.*

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκέτης ἐφθέγξατο.

The Latines call it *obscænare*, and the words themselves *malè ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may english it *halzening speeches.* Such words as these they had alwaies a superstitious care to avoid: insomuch that they would say instead of ἀσωπήιον *a prison*, ὄικημα *a house.* And so for Ἐρινύες, Εὐμενίδες; and Σειραὶ ἅλαι: for πόδακρ, γαλῆς: for μῦς, ὄγκος and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* saies of *Nulla spes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, or (to speak in the phrase of *Terence*) *Religio est dicere*, they made a scruple to *Jon.* 1188. *Epist. ad Cassium.*

ſpeak, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſſe with the gods, nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved, then εὐφημεῖν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy daies) *to avoid all ominous expreſſions*, or κακὰς ὄπλας (as they called them.) Which if they were ſpoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that party whoſe buſineſſe was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them ſo much the worſe. What words were eſpecially counted for ominous, you might give me an account; if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, *viz. De vocibus male ominatis.* Only thus much I may tell you, that when they firſt ſet about any buſineſſe of concernment, they had a ſpecial care to begin with a *Preface* διὸς δῶρα, or ἐν πάσιν, or ἔστω μὲν ἐν, like to *Perſius* his *hoc benè ſit*, and that old threadbare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatúmq; ſit.* Some words there were, and Proper names of ſuch a ſignification, as it was counted a happineſſe but to hear them ſpoken. For ſo when *Iulus* had ſaid

Plato l. 7. de Leg.

Menſas etiam conſumimus——preſently (ſaies *Virgil*) his father laid hold on the *word* and imbraced the omen,

——*ea vox audita laborum*
Prima tulit finem, primúmque loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater——

So *Leotychides*, when he deſired of a *Samian* his aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*, asked what his name was, and being anſwered *Hegeſiſtratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ἡγησιστράτου δέχομαι τὸ ἐπωνυμὸν for δέχεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα, is the ſame with *them*, that *accipire omen* is with the *Latines*, that is, to make an ominous ſpeech an omen indeed, and *take* it to my ſelf. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen; *oſtentorum vires in eorum erant poteſtate, quibus oſtendebantur*, ſaies *Pliny*.

Now the way to *abominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a ſtone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *creature*, as a Cat, or

or the like; or else if it were an unlucky *speech*, to retort it back again with εἰς κεφαλήν σοι, *tibi in caput radeat, let it return upon thine own head.* Which perhaps, is an expression borrowed from a custome of the ἱερέως τοῦ, not only among them, but among the Ægyptians also, who when they spied any thing in the *victims*, that seemed to portend ill to their country, used to pray, εἰς κεφαλὴν ταῦτα τρέποις, that *it might return upon the head of the beast.* The like perhaps is used in the Hebrew, *viz.* שוב בראש in several places of the Scripture: and it puts me in mind of that saying in *Seneca*, *Quis non, si admoneatur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat.* Insteed of this sometimes they would say εἰς ἄμεινον σοι, *dii monuerint meliora.* Sometimes upon such an unlucky speech heard while they did such a thing, they would do it *another way*: or do it *again*; as one in *Euripides*, upon somebody speaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup.

Herodot.

Obadiæ v. 15. & 1 Kings 2. v. 44 &c.

Moſch. Idyl.

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own body, and those were either. 1. *Marks*, such as ἰλαὶα *spots* like oyle. 2. Παλμοὶ. 3. Πταρμοὶ. παλμικὰ ὀτοινίσματα, were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latine *Salissationes*, and βόμβος, or *tinnitus aurium*; which if it were the tingling of the *right* ear, it was as good as the palpitation of the [b] *right eye.* Of these things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*; and *Posidonius* another (saies *Suidas*) which he called Παλμικὸν ἰώνισμα.

[b] Ἄλλῳτω ὀφθαλμὸς ωοὶ ὁ λῷστός.

Theocr. Id. 3.

Πταρμὸς *Sneezing*, was so superstitiously esteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a *god*, ὃν πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγήσαντο, saies *Aristotle* in his Problems. Which was the reason, saith *Athenæus*, that they abstained from eating the *brain*, out of which the sneezing came; as also the cause of that usual prayer of salutation Ζεῦ σῶσον at a sneezing: according to that jeer of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long nose,

L. 2.

as if he had ſtood ſo far out, that he could not hear himſelf when he ſneezed.

Οὐδὲ λέγει, ζεῦ σῶπυ, ὅταν πταρῇ, ὃ δ' ἀκούει
Τὴς ῥινὸς πολὺ δὴ τ' ἀκμῆς ἀπίχει.

Inſomuch that if a man ſneezed at ſuch a *time*, or on ſuch a *ſide*, they were either perſwaded to, or diſcouraged from the buſineſſe undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emunctæ naris* as he was) had ſo little *ſenſe* himſelf, as to fetch advice from another mans *noſe*, and to make a Sneeze ſerve inſteed of a genius or a *dæmonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumſtances. If a man Sneez'd in the *afternoon* it was a good omen: but ill in the morning; and the reaſon is diſputed by *Ariſtotle* in the *Problemes*. If a man Sneezed at table while they were taking away, or if another hapned to ſneeze on the *left* hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it happened on the other hand, all was well. If I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themiſtocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground then ſuch a ſneeze, ἅμα δ' πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἐσήμανε. Such a ſneeze while *Xenophon* was making his ſpeech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perſwaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them ſuch an omen of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, preſently after a ſpeech made of *Ulyſſes* his return, and revenging himſelf of his enemies.

Caſſium.
Plutarch. de

Ὡς φάτο, πηλέμαχος δ' ἄρα μιν ἔπταρεν---- and ſo *Penelope* took it (for ſaies ſhe laughing and rejoycing) οὐκ ἄνευ ἀτῆς ἐξ ἐπὶ πᾶσι πάσιν ἔπτω. And the reaſon may be becauſe ſneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholſome*, σωτηρίῳ: which perchance was underſtood by the aforeſaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ὅτι δὲ σωτήριόν τι ἡ πτῶσις ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι. But now at laſt I muſt tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long ago ſlighted

slighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiser sort for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happened to sneeze, as he was going on shipbord being therefore disswaded from going by the Master of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, πῶν γὰρ οἰωνίσμα εἰ πάντων σπερμολόγων εἰς ἕπεσθε, *What great Omen can it be for one man to sneeze, when there be so many together.* But among the *Romans* a great deale more for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries. *Quæ si suscipiamus & pedis offensio nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & sternumenta erunt observanda.* L. 2. de Div.

Ominous *actions* or *accidents*, were such as these following. First at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much used, to make a piece of the *cake* or *any* other thing; and carry it home *bonæ fœvæ gratia*, as we say, *for the lucks sake*. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of [a] ὑγίεια *sanitas*. If in sacrificing the Priest did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unluckie *accident*. This observation the Romans called, *caducum auspicium*. Secondly, at a *Feast* this action was luckie; to crown the Cup with a Garland —*paterámque Corona inanit.* The reason (saies *Eustathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, because a Garland represents a circle, τὰ γὰρ τελειότατα σχήματα καὶ τέλεια δεῖ καὶ πολυχώρητε, *which is the most compleat figure of all, and holds most.* Unlucky *accidents* were such as these, *viz.*: The coming in of a strange blacke dogge, the craking of a table, the spilling of wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit then to write a booke) taking away while one was a drinking) or a suddaine silence. In putting on of the cloathes the right side must be served first; and therefore if a servant had but given his Master the *left* shooe first, he was sure to have [b] it. And thus much at *Home*. *Abroad* they had for their Omens, σύμβολα ἐνόδια, or συμβόλους ὀνείδους. That is (saies the *Scholiast*) τοὺς πρῶτα ξυναντῶντας, *occursacula, any thing that met them first.* Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not the Physitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their bookes.

[a] ὑγίεια ἀλλ' εἰ τι ἀπαίσιον ἢ ἀπολίσθημα, ἢ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τύ. θεᾶ περιόψιον, ἢ τι μύγον, εἰ τι ἄλλο. *saies Hesychius.* ὀνείδεσι μὲν τὰ καταδήματα ἢ ὄψεις προτερωῤῥιξὶ τὸ ἀριστερόν. *Chrysostom.*

[b] *In Aristoph. Av. Suidas.*

If a Snake lay so in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with whelps, or a Fixon with Cubs; Oh! these things were δυσοίωνα, δυσοιώνισα καὶ ἀποπρόπτια, σιάματα, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable *sights*. So if a man happened to meete with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, ὑπὸ πόδα ἀναστῆναι, saith *Lucian*, *hee must stand forty foot off*. Nay if we met with a Weezle or such a creature in the crosse-way, we will have no *Commitia* fit for all this day. And [c] *Artemidorus* will give you a reason, why γαλῆ should be so much taken notice of, in his [d] διεξόδῳ, or running by: because (forsooth) it is ἰσόψηφος to δίκη, that is, (as I thinke) the letters in each word will signifie the same number. *viz:* 42. But if it be so, how came she to be such an enemy to δίκη, as to interrupt the course of *justice*? perhaps, it was onely then, when they omitted that usuall ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, or purge it of *unluckie* things. Infinite many more sorts of Divinations might I mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently testifie what regard the Grecians had of such bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himselfe had his *Altars*, and his prophecying by Omens μαντικὸν ἀπὸ κλεδόνων. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his κλεδόνων ἱερὸν his *Temple* for Omens too (saies *Pausanias*) where the fashion was for him that came for an Omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idol's* eares, and then presently stopping his owne, to goe forth of the Temple, and the first voyce heard after he came out must goe for the Oracle. And so much of Divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and I'le have done.

Lucian.

Aristoph. in Eccles.

[a] *L.* 3.

[b] *Plutarch. de Philodel.*

Aristoph. in Eccles.

In Eliacis.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former, becauſe in it (as *Cicero* ſaies) *temeritas & caſus, non ratio & concilium valet.* For though there might be *caſus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was skill withall in the *perſon* to give ſignification. It was *invented* by *Minerva*: onely *Jupiter* took away her *credit*, to make the better trading for *Apollo*. *Caſting*, or *Drawing* lots, was either with ἀστραγάλοις, or *talis caſt* into a box: or with *teſſeræ* (γραμματῶν *Plutarch* calls them) little wooden tables with *letters* upon them *drawn* out of a pot, or *calculi* little *balls* of earth, with marks upon them for the names, ſometimes taken out of a pot, and ſometimes thrown into a well (whether to ſee which came up firſt, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of the wooden tables, that they were uſed in the temple of *Herculeſ* Βυθίνικος in *Achaiah*. And the like (they ſay) were uſed by the *Parliament* of *five hundred*, with the characters of the ten firſt letters upon them, to ſhew to which of the ten Courts every Judge was to go (together with the Image of a rod the enſigne of *Mercury*, the god of *Lots*) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the ſign of *Alpha*, & they had the reſt to the Courts that bare the names of the letters *One* of theſe waies or *all* (which I know not) was ſo much uſed by the *Thriæ* (the *three Nymphes* reported to have been the nurſes of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thriæ* came to be uſed for *ſortes, lots*, according to that *In Fabio.* *De iis ſupra*

Πολλοὶ τριβόλοι παῦροι δὲ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες

Calculi were much uſed in *ancient* times in *Judging of cauſes*, and in *wreſtling matches*, and the like: though (it ſeems) in *Cicero*'s time not ſo much, *Quis enim magiſtratus, aut quis vir illuſtrior utitur ſortibus, cæteris vero in locis planè refrixe-runt* *L. 2. Divin.*

runt. In their *Wrestling matches* I have read that they had a silver *pot* called the κάλπις, into which they put little *pellets* about the bigneſſe of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark: and thoſe that happened to draw the *ſame* mark were to Wreſtle together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named ἔπεδος) was to *come in at Kings* (as we ſay) or to wreſtle at laſt with him that had the maſtery. *Pag.* 118. How they uſed them in *Judging of Cauſes*, has been ſhewed by another already. But that they were uſed alſo by perſons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Ariſtophanes in pace.* For by reaſon that one only was to be put to death in one day, and ſometimes the judgement was reverſed: the Priſoners did caſt lots who was to dye firſt; and he that drew firſt, was commonly called by the name of Ἑρμῆς the *Mercury.* Thus in the ſhips in a ſtorm, they uſed to caſt lots who ſhould be thrown over board for a κάθαρμα. Thus *Eu-* * *L.* 7. *ſtathius* ſaies, the lot fell to * *Iſmene*, juſt as it did to the Prophet *Jonah.* And ſo in moſt of the Temples, that were reſorted unto for Oracles, there were εἰ κλῆροι *Lots* and a table of purpoſe to *throw* for it; after the receiving of the anſwer, *Pyth. Od.* 4. for ἐὰν βάλλοντὸς μὲ τὸ ζ ἀναβὰ ἀποτελεσθήσεται τὸ ζ εἰ ζ μὴ, ὃς ἀποτελεσθήσεται (ſaies the ϛ upon *Pindar*) *if I throw ſuch a caſt, the propheſy will be fulfilled. If I do not, it will not.* Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and the croſſe waies they had their *ſortes viales* (εἰνόδιαι συμβόλαι *Æſchylus* calls them, and εἰνόδιος is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried ſo many cuts about him, with ſeverall inſcriptions: and the next boy he met within the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind: it went for as good a Prophecy as the beſt, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg* 1.

Ille ſacras pueri ſortes ter ſuſtulet, illi
Retulit è triviis omnia certa puer.

Artemii

Artemidorus in his *Proœmium* ſpeaks of τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεων, Diviners in the *Market*. The originall of this divination *Plutarch* in his book *de Iſide, & Oſiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Oſirus* in a cheſt, and thrown him into the Sea. *Iſis*, as he was wandering too and fro to ſeek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play; and aſking of them, they ſhewed him the place, ἐκ τούτου τὰ παιδάρια μαντικὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν ὅτιδὴ Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς τόπων. Κληδόνι παιζόντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ θεσπεσμένων ὅτι ἂν τύχωσιν. Beſides theſe wayes already mentioned, they had another, by opening ſuch a Poet in one or more places, and taking the firſt verſes they met with for a predicton: which way of prediction they called στιχομαντείαν, or ῥαψῳδομαντείαν. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of. And *Virgilianæ*: which they ſay *Severus Alexander* made uſe of, when he met with this verſe of *Virgil*.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Chriſtians themſelves have not ſtickt to practiſe the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* Ἀνοίξειν ἐκεῖνε δοῦν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ τεθέλημα τοῦ θείων λόγων. And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt councel out of the New Teſtament, καὶ ἑυρὼν ἐπιγέγραπται ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παραχειμάσαι, and to have been thereby perſwaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choice of divers fatidical verſes, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Auſtin. l. 4. Confeſſ. cap. 3.* Makes mention of theſe lotteries. *Si enim de Paganis poetæ cujuſpiam longè aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum ſortem quis conſulit, mirabiliter conſonus negotio ſæpè verſus exiret.* And this way they ſay that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may ſuffice of κλῆροι *ſortes*, for by κλῆρος in the *ſingular* number, is many times meant the hint, or occaſion given to Diviners to ſpeak what they did. τὸ σημεῖον τὸ δεδόμενον τοῖς μαντευομένοις ἀφ' ὧν οἱ μάντεις ὁρμώμενοι θεοπρεπῆ τοῖς πρᾶγμα μαλλόντων. *q. In Eurip. Hippol.*

For the Diviners themſelves, *Vates*, or μάντεις, as they did but little better then *fain* like Poets; ſo they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet [a] ſaies of *Caſſandra* [b] χλωρᾷ κόμᾳ στέφανα δάφνας κοσμηθεῖσα. For why? —— *venturi præſcia laurus.* The Laurel they took to be a thing of ſpecial and ſoveraign vertue, both to ſet a man a Prophecying (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it θεσπέσιον δάφνην) and to preſerve him from any evill, and therefore very much uſed in Luſtrations, inſomuch that they would commonly have the ſtaves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurell wood, They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum* like *publick* perſons. χρησμολόγοι κατῆχον τὸ ἐν πρυτανείῳ δικάσιον, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*. There was one more *noted* Fraternity of them, called the μυσάδες· εἶδός τι γένους μάντεων, ſaies *Heſych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*, The eldeſt was of *Eleon* in *Bœotia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedemonian* women of their madneſſe) and the youngeſt of *Caphua* in *Arcadia* of *Locris* ſome men ſay) otherwiſe called Κύδας and Ἀλήτης. Anſwering to theſe three *men*, the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* (in *Irene*) ſaies there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz *Delphica*, *Erythræa*, and *Sardiaca*. But the firſt (I believe) had moſt of the *Spirit of* [c] *Python*; *and brought her Maſter moſt gain by Southſaying.*

[a] *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 757.*
[b] *In Androm.*
[c] *Acts c.16.v. 16.*

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done ſo much ſo ill already, I muſt be forced to do more yet, and excuſe one fault with another. For my deſire is to leave thee fully ſatisfied with my reaſons why I did it at all, & why I did it no better. The cords that drew *me to do it* (*and* drawn *I was*) *were* three, *ſuch as twiſted together I could by no means break*, viz. *Firſt the importunity of*

my

my friend. 2. *The neceſsity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Cuſtomes, for the underſtanding of Authors:* *and* 3. *The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an* Iſſue*) to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The cauſes why I did it no* better, *are as many.* viz. *Firſt want of yeares and judgement, having done the moſt part of it in my* Tirocinium (*when I tooke more delight in theſe ſtudies*) *as appeares by the number of the Authors which I have cited. Secondly, want of health. And thirdly, want of time and leaſure, being called away by occaſions, that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be diſobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and oyle be not all loſt, I have as much as I deſired my ſelfe, and thou haſt no more than I owed thee.*

T. BOGAN.

Μέσων ἅτ' ὀπαδὸς ὅδ' ἔκγονος, Ἑλεφαίπης
Μητέρας εἰς ἑλίω, Πατέρας δ' ὀλὲ· Σῶμα δ' ἐμὸς
Ἄλκ' ἔδωκε ψυχῶ, εἰ δ' ψυχὴ ἐστελέχεια
Ἠσύ, Πέπον, Πλήρωμα, τὸ πεὶν σήρωμα, τίπτ' ἄξω.
Εὐγε, τί δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μᾶλλον ἔτ' αἰεὶ
Μέλπεν ἀποπτόλεσον Σκυθικῆ κακομιμήμα τίρεα.

Ἐκ δ' ὅπει ἦ νέα τί νεον; πάρος, ἄρκοι, ἔρωτες,
Θρέπτρα, λιχοὶ, Ἰκέτω, Μαιοπίνη, Πόλεμος.

R. WARRE,

& C.C.C.

FINIS.

INDEX VOCABULORUM.

A

Acerba non matura viro, 166
Ἀδίκημα, after sentence. 122
Ἀφυγία 129
Ἀιτία, properly before enditement 122
Αἴσακος 306
Αἰκίας δίκη 104
Alcibiadis dictum 177
Ἀλιτήριοι unde 276
Ἀκοῇ τεκμήριον, proof hearsay 117
Ἀκόλουθοι, τῶλοι, Ganymeds 223
Ἀκροπόλεις ἀκροπολίζειν 239
Ἀκρόπολις. 5. 6. circuitus ejus 9
Ἀκροθίνια, ἀπαρχαὶ 57
Ἀκρόπομα καὶ ἄκειον 292
Ἀγωγεὺς δίκη, quomodo differt ab ἔνδειξις 148
Amoris indicia 156
Amatoria philtra 158
Ἀμφιδρόμια, δεὺς ἀμφίδρομος 212
Ἀμνηστία Jusjurandum μὴ μνησικακήσειν 107
Ἀμοιχθονίων δίκη 144
Amyniæ Æschyli fratris Philadelphia 128
Ἀνακαλήσασθαι ψυχὴν 235
Ἀνακαλυπτήρια 171
Ἀναρχαὶ ἐμέθεαι αἱ ὑπερεάλμεναι ἐπαγόμεναι, explicid 60, 62
Ἀνασταίς 38
Ἀνακλεῖς 43
Ἀνδροληψίου δίκη.
Ἀνδροληψίου quid. 138. Ἀνδροτείων ibid.
Annus Atticus 60
Ἀντιγραφή 144
Ἀπαγωγὴν ἄγειν δίκην 147
Ἀπαθήματα Delphica 342
Ἀντωμοσία, ταληθῆ ὀμόσαι 112
Ἀναίρεσις 113
Ἀπατεία 227
Ἀποκηρύξαι, ἀποκήρυκτος 326
Ἀπαγωγὴ, carrying one before the Magistrate 140
Ἀπόλειψις καὶ ἀποστέρησις quomodo differunt 140. 193
Ἀποστομὴς δίκη 140
Ἀποτίμημα 192
Ἀποφολίμαιον φόλημα 159
Apollo 36. Ἀπόσδουσος 87
Ἀπομαχαιρίαι, χειρομαχίαι, ξαὶς 238
Ἀποστασίου, vel ξενίας δίκη 148
Ἄφεσις 149
Ἀφορμῆς δίκη, seu ἐνδείκνυσθαι ibid.
Ἀπωλεσία καὶ ζωμωσία 146
Ἀριθμεῖν, numerare, to number 223
Areopagus, Areopagitæ 128
Ἀρεοπαγίτης στρατηγὸς 128
Ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ δικάζειν. 133.
Ἀρδηττοὶ 288
Ἀρπαδοὶ Homeristæ 306
Ἁρμάτειον μέλος 173
Ἀρχίας δίκη 145
Ἀρχὸς, Ἀρχεῖα, Ἀρχόειν 168
Arma defensiva, 319. Arma offensive 323
Ἀρετὸς triplex 204
Ascriptio in φρατρίας, album lexiarchicum &c. 226
Ἀσπαίρεσθαι, unde 296
Ἄξυ κατ' ἄξονα pro Athenis
Ἀσεωλιάζειν, quid 81
Asyla Athenienium 52
Ἀτιμὸν ab Ἀκτὴ. 4. Ἀτιμοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι diff. 14
Ἀτιμον βλέπειν. Impudence 16. Attica

tica fides
Ἀθῆναι, 5 Circuitus earundem, 9. portæ 11,12. Laus 13
Ἀναίνω λ'θ☞ 243.
Αὐτόχειρ 238
Auchoidea 37
Ἀξόνες, κύβεις, σῆλαι 97
Ἀχαιείας δίκη 145
Ἀχειλώμια φιλ☞ 116
Ἄζωα ἀπεριζώνυτα 132

B

Βασιλεῖον ἐν φρεατῷ δικασήριον 133
Βουλευτικὸς δίκη 143
Βάλλω δίκην Prov. 133
Βάσις δικάζει Prov. *in case of defective sentence* 139
Βουζυγιδὴν 98
Βλάβης δίκη 140
Βρῖται, prius ξόα dictum primò σανίς 53
Brickbuilding first invented by whom 8
Βυκολόροι, βωμὸς & ἐσχάρα diff. 380

C

CEphisus amnis 13
Classes tres Populi Athenienſis & Ægyptii 19
Caſaubonus reprehenſus & Theophraſti Characteres emendati 12
De Capillis tondendis, c. 25. l. 5
Cœna Hecates *a beggarly feaſt* 315
Cibus & potus Græcorum 299
Cedar called νεκρῶν ζωὴ 263
Comœdia unde dicta 23.80
Comitia Attica 101
Convivium triplex, ἔρωτ☞, γαμ☞, ἐπιταφιον 293
Convivantium geſtus 303
Crambe, quaſi Κοσσύμβαν. 297
Cupido 151.152
Cunabula 211
Crematio corporum & ritus cremandi 259.262

D

Δέπας, δέρτρον, δορπιστὴς, δεῖπνα θεῶν 292
Δεκατη, δεκάτιον θύειν 213
Demetrius Phalareus. 300. Statuis ornatus 32
Demoſthenis dictum. 299
Δημιοεργοὶ qui 18
Δῆμος prius dicti Ναυκράριοι quum. 174.24
δῆμοι καθύπερθεν & ὑπόκατω. ibid.
nationa eorum vide pag. 25.26.
Δημοκρατία 28.30
Diactii 18
Διαδικασίας δίκη 141
Διαιτηταὶ. 133. *Arbitratores* unde
Διάτην ἐπιτρέπειν
Δίαιτα 136
Διαμαρτυρία 140
Διδόναι dicuntur Poetæ 85,86.
δίκη διδομένων ἢ κεκριμένων 117
Δίκαι ἐφετικαὶ 315
δικαστήρια καθόλου decem 135
viz. πεντακόσιον. Ἀρεοπαγ☞ Ἡλιαστῶν, ἐπὶ παλλαδίῳ &c. 305
Divinationes variæ per μαντικὴν, per ſomnum &c. 347
Divinatio artificioſa per Ornithomanteiam &c. 356

Divortia Græcorum 162
διοσημίαι 102
διφυὴς Cecrops cur sic dictus 168
διωμοσία, an oath of both parties: pleader ὡς ἠδίκηται διώκειν, defendant, ὡς οὐκ ἠδίκησεν ἀποφεύγειν 113
Dracones cur incubantes Thesauris singuntur. 211. ἀπὸ τοῦ δέρκεσθαι videre 211
δοκιμασία 145
δῶμα ἀνεπίξεστον. 1. χαμαὶ στέγης 179
δῶρων γραφὴ 145

E

Ἐαρὸς ἀφὴ γαπῶν 171
Ἔγκλημα, inditement 144
Ἡλιασταὶ, ἡλιαία ab ἡλίζεσθαι 105
Ἡραίαν βαδίζειν. Junonium incedere. 45. Ἥραια 257
Ἐγκέφαλος, not to be eaten or named 303
Εἰσαγγελία, εἰσαγγελικὸς νόμος 139
Εἰς ἀδελφιδῶν αἵρεσιν 142
Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν 144
Ἐκλιθυία. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν 209
Sic Egeria ab egerendo partus. Facilina à facilis. φωσφόρος & Lucina à lucem ferendo ibid.
οἱ Ἐκγόνοις, Seniores quare sic dicti 140
Ἑκατομβαιὼν July the first month afterwards in the yeare Μαιμακτηριὼν October 65
Ἐκκλησία 102
Ἐκκλητὸς, to be fined for not appearing to witnesse after citation 145
Ἐκ Κέραμος πύλαι, ὅτι ἔτυμα χρεμαίνυσι, ἐξ ἐλάσαντος, ὅτι ἐλάσσυται. vid. & alias rationes 351
Ἐκκλῆσις 122
Ἐκδιδόναι, pro ἐπομισθῆν ibid.
Ἔλεγος, ὃς τὰ λέγειν ἐ, ἐ, ἐ, 255
Ἔλεγχος, after proof. 122
Ἔννατα festa 271
Ἐνδεικτὶ against taken 137
Ἐνεχυράζειν τὸ give baile 139
Ἐνεπίσκημμα 147
Ἐνοικίς δίκη, ἕσιας ἢ κεφαλῆ
Ἐξάζης δίκη, ab ἐξέλλειν 143
Ἐυδνία, φθινοπώρινα ψευδῆ 349
Ἐπαυριφόρεω 134
Ἐπιζάφειν to fine for dammages 119
Ἐπιδικασίας δίκη, ἐπίδικος 149
Ἐπιλαμβάνειν ὑδωρ, ῥίνα 115
Ἐπωρεῖς, ὠρεῖς ἐπιφέρεια l. 5.
Ἐπισκηψις 144
Epithalamium, why sung with a great noise 181
Ἐπίτροπος. Tutor, ἐπιτροπεύειν, δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς 173
Ἐπιτάφιοι λόγοι ἢ ἀγῶνες 270
Ἐπὶ καρίστοις λόγοις 14
Ἐπὶ χειροτονία νόμων 108
Ἐπωζελία quid 137
Equites ἱππεῖς 19
Ἑρδειν facere, Sacrificare 56

Estates, passed either χτ' δίκης or χτ' ἀκδικίαν 233
Eumendes 44
Εὐορκος pro Εὐσεβὴς 288
Εὐπατρίδαι 18
Eupolis his Baptæ, ominous to himselfe 91
Εὐσημος, unde deriv. 153
Εὐρυκλεῖ) ἐγγαστρίμυθοι
Εὐχώμεθα 58
Ἐξηγηταὶ 117
Ἐξαιρέσιος δίκη 144
Extispicina 36
Ephetæ, ἐφέται μὲν 123
Ἐφύδρος, ὁ παραφυλάττων πλὴν ἐν σοφίᾳ ἢ κλεψύδρᾳ 110
Ἐχῖνος, εἰς ἐχῖνον βάλλειν 112

F

Figgs thrown at the head of the Bride ἐνεπρίας σημεῖον
de Ferali aniculo 244
Fire ordeall, parallell to the Greek μυδρὸς 287

G

Γάμος unde 190
Γενέθλιαι δόσεις 212
Γεωμόρος 18
Γηροβοσκεῖν 200
Going softly, i. e. *Mourning* 256
Γοητεία ἀ γόος luctus cur 51
Governments, severall kinds of it among the Antients 28
Γραδὴ, Actio formula, *a writ* 137
Græc. fide i. e. *with ready money* 144
Γονάτων λαβεῖν 278
Γυλίον, Γυλιαυχένης 322
Γυναικωνῖτις, eodem sensu quo ἀνδρωνῖται, παρθενῶνες 199

H

Helena, why said to be bathd of an egge 207
Herba quædam mirabilis Athenis in Acropoli 8
Hospites ἰδιόξενοι excipiendi 310
Hospes ab hostium, vel ostium *quare* 311
Hypocritæ, *Actors properly* 82

I

Ἰατρὸς καὶ μάντις, olim pro eodem habebantur 336
Ἴκαρια, 175. ἱκετηρίαι κλάδοι 276
Idololatria Athenienſium 36
Infantium Lotio & unctio 190
expoſitio 216
Io pœan, unde 41, 42
Judicialia nomina 159
Judicium ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, 151. ὑπ. Δελφινίῳ. Πρυτανείῳ, φρεατ τοῖ &c. 131
Ἴυγξ, paſſerculus 159
Jurandi Genera & formulæ 282
Juramenti Magni ritus 284. Parvi 286
Ἰωνία. Ἰὰς. Javan.

K

Καγχλωποὶ Κιγκλὶς
Κάδος, Καδισκὸς. 118. σφόπηξ καὶ ὑστερὸς ibid.
Καπηδρία 167
Κακώσεως δίκη 140
Καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ quare
Κατάγα in bonam, & malam partem 121
Καταγῶται pollinctores 244
Κατηγορία, *if diverse sorts* 137
Κατηγορίας δίκη 140
Κατικκλησία. *Assembly summond out of the fields* 102
Κενος, Κένιος Amaſſum ut τῆνος 164
Κενοτάφιον, κενοταφεῖν 237

ὁ Κερμεικὸς 258
Κίρατα, ἢ χάσκον 57
Κερέσα, ἡ Κίρατα πατήρια 302
Κεραῶν, κεραπὸς βωμὸς 343
Κληδόνων ἱερεῖ, ἀπὸ κληδόνων μαντικὴ 370
Κλοπῆς δίκη 140
Κλεψύδρα 115
Κλώζειν συρίττειν, to hisse 89
Κόδορ & dictus, Theramenes, cur 31
Κοσκινομαντεία &c. id genus 364
Κορώνη ominous not κωρώνη 180
Κόπλαξ, κοπλάβιον, κοπλακίζειν 157
Κυρὲ πάνδημος 256
Κυστερέφω γῆ πεδύειν 223
Κύσελέρ & Epitheton Græciæ ibid.
Κρίται ὁπ Διονυσιακοὶ vel Διονυσιακοὶ κριταὶ σύντε, the Tragic. Judge: 67
Κυαμόπυξ ἀνηρ δικαίως 118
Κυαμὸς μὴ ἔδειν. Alleg. 118
Κωδων & ὀξέως ἀκόκτης Gutlings 222
Κωδωνοφορεῖν, κωδωνίζειν idem. item tentare. Ἀκωδώνισα, ἀπέρασα 217

Λ

Λαῖν & χατὰν quid sign. 263
Lallare, βαυκίλαν 216
λαμπὰς λαμπάδι & 183
λαῶν ἄγεσις unde Missa 55
λειποτακτίου δίκη 145
λέσχαι 290
Liberi Quadruplices. Τρίσιοι. Νόθοι Σκότιοι. Παιδεῖαι 221. 222.
Liberorum Educatio. 223. Castigatio 224
Leges & legislatores Attici 94
λίθ & ὕβρεως ἢ ἐναιδείας, or rather ἀναιτίας 127
Livius emendatus
λοβοὶ, tips of the ears, why from λαμβάνειν 116
λῦσιν Νυμφικὸν 380
λύτρα παυόντα 244
λύματα, unde Lymax flu. 215
λυσιζώνη Diana cur 183
Lustratio Domus funestæ 271

M

Μά, partic. used in negative oathes. 284
Μαντικὴ secundum Platonem quasi μανικὴ 335
Mars 42
Μασχαλίζειν. i. e. Ἀκροπελίζειν 239
Μαρτυρία quomodo differt ab ὀμωμοσία 145
Mercurius 39
Menses σκῆρες ἢ κοῖλοι 64
Mensium nomenclatura, comparatio, schema 46. 66.
Μεμιλτωμένον χοιρίοι 103
Μεταλλικοὶ. 148. μετάλλα, ἀγχόρου δίκη 149
Μηνὸς φθίνοντ & μεσοῦν & ἱσταμένου 63
Μιλοζολεῖν 161
Μῖλαι ὑπὸ δεδυγμέναι
Μίνιμα ἢ μείλυγμα νεκροῦ l. 5.
Μὴ ὄσα 147
Μητὶ χυοίχασείου 134
Melorae 348
Meursius reprehensus 10. 134
Militum pœnæ, præmia, sepultura, 328
Μισθώσεως οἰκίαι δίκη 141
Mos amorem significandi 163
Mulierum amor 154. σκληραγωγία 194 honestioria opificia. 196. οἰκεῖα 199
Μύλοι unde 299

N

Ναὶ & νὴ used in affirmative oathes 284
Νεκρομαντεία 363
Νεκρὸς στεφάνωσις. 146. σεῦτοις. 147. ἐσφορὰ 147
Νεὼς, ἱερὸς 52
Νόμ & unde 95
Νόμοι δράκοντος, ibid. νόμοι φόνικοὶ, ibid.
Νόμ & ὀκάτου δην 98
Νόμ & 1. ἔθ, ibid. ἴγκαρ, vel ἴγκαος & 99
τὰ Νόμιμα, eodem sensu quo lat. justa 234
Νυκτὸς ἐπάρξασθαι κακὸν ἐνομίζετο 248

Nuptiæ Græcorum 166
Nutrices duplices. Τιτθαὶ καὶ Τρόφοι 316

O

Offa Cerberi. 243. μελιτοῦττα 244
Οἰνιστήρια 230
Οἰνοχοεῖν solitæ filiæ.
Οἶνος quis 264
Οἶνος ἀκρατος καὶ κεκερασμένος 301
Ὀλιγαρχία 19
Ὄμνυμι pro ἐυχομαι 282
Ὄνειρον κοκλύζει, ὀνειρκεικτὴν 48
Ὄνειρος. 1. ὄνειρον. Ὄναρ, ὄντος ἄρσις 347
Ὀνομασὶ κωμῳδεῖν prohibited 99
Ὁπλῖται triplices 316
Oraculum Pythium &c. 316. Templum Delphicum ibid.
Oracula φιλοσοφίζειν solita 341
Oracula, cur quomodo & quaddo cessaverint 345
Orationes funebres 270
Ὅρκος ab Orcus 283
Ὅρκος μέγας καὶ μικρὸς 282
Ὅρκος Ἀφροδίσιος 155
Ὅρκοι ἐπὶ τιμίων 127
Οὐρανία Venus. Item lusus pilæ 150
Ὄχλοκοπα 30

Π

Pagus quid, unde 172
Παιδίσκαι 152
παρβύσιον μεῖζον καὶ μέσον. 135. Situated ἐν ἀφανεῖ πόλεως. hence ἐν παρβύσῳ i. e. λαθρα ibid.
παραγραφὴ & παραμαρτυρία 146
παράνομων δίκη 146
παρατυρᾶν τὰ σώματα 269
παραχορήγημα καὶ παράπηγον 83
Pauperes sublevandi 313
παρανατροπῆς δίκη 140
παρανατροβολὴ 144
παππαι proprie ἱερεῖς.
Parentalia 272
Παπαλαγαθοδαιμονία 214
πελειάδες, πελειαι, old Prophetesses, quæ πεπελιωμένοι 346
πεντακόσιοι. 140. Cuius creationis 189
fiunt ἑξακόσιοι 109
De peregrinis excipiendis 308
Pelargi, pelargicum 8
Pediæi, paralii 19
περιρραντήριον ὕδωρ καὶ ἔσω 53
Perjurii religio 288
ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις 316
περίστα τὰ καθήρσια, περισταρχος 103
Perenne auspicari. 326. διαβατήρια δένων ibid.
Perjuries not punisht among the Greeks, or Romans, why 127
πλίνθον 81
πνυμαντεία 364
πνύξ, the place of meeting πνὰ τὸ πεπυκνῶσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν ἄνδρας, alias petra.
Petrus reprehensus.
ποινὴ quasi φονὴ a φόνος 133. propriè ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων, dicitur ibid.
πολύχρυσος Ἀφροδίτη cur dictio 174
Pollux emendatus 134. 158
πομπεύειν convitiari. πομπεία, ὕβρις, λοιδορία 85
Possardus reprehensus 150
πολόκαμος δρεπτήριος καὶ πεδοτήρεια 227
πρόχαιμα 100
προσάμεια, προσίλεια 168
προδοσίας δίκη 148
προδότας μὴ θάπτεσθαι νόμος 260
πρόκλησις 147
πρόσκλησις ἀπροσκλήτοι δίκαι 247
πρὸς, κατὰ πρὸς, and somewhat more. 139
πρόσταται πρόξενοι 309
πρωνίδιον, Ilex. an holme 48
de Pritanæis 102
πόδος flos quidam. πόδον coronæ quibus ἐστεφάνουν τὸ πῖδον 268
πτύειν 74
πυγμὸς, 48. πυὸς 367. πυρετιάδης 368

πυγόστολος, ad nates usque succincta 201
Puerperarum religio, 266. Lustratio 214
Puerperium 280
πύθιον, χρῆπον ἢν αὐτῆς ἐν πυθίῳ σποπατῆσαι, prov. 54
πυῤῥόεσι, ἐδὲ πυῤῥόεσς, Prov. 54
πυῤῥόεσι, ἐδὲ πυῤῥόεσς, Prov. *not a mothers son escaped* 56

Q

Quadruplatores cur ita dicti 137
Quince-Apple to be eaten between the new married Bride, and Bridegroom 179

R

Ῥαφανίδωσις pœna adulterii 202
Recta quid 197
Reges, cur ad radices montium sepulti 258
Requisites in a husband. 87. τεσσαρακοντάτιμον ἀνδρὸς μὲ ξένον, μὲ ἄλλων γυναῖκα ἔχοντα 187
Requisites in a wife 189
Ritus convivandi varii
Ritus Bellici. 316. indicendi bellum 326
prælia committendi 320
Ritus legatos excipiendi 327
Ritus lugendi in funere 254
Ritus, divinandi. *vid.* divinatio.

S

Sacerdotia Græcorum 55
Sacrificiorum genera & loca 280
Saturnus 42
Saturni compedes exoluti 160
Satyrica 85
Σάωτηρ quasi σαωτὴρ
Scaliger reprehensus 323
Σεισάχθια 96
Σέλινος apium. Σελίνῳ δῆδαι, prov. *One desperately sick* 268
Sepultura. 233. Necessitas ejus 234. locus 237
Σημεῖα αὐτοψίας 176
Σπασμὸς 175
Σῖτα δίκη 143
Σκιομαντεία 363
Σκόλιοι, *not opposed to* νόμοι ὄρθιοι 307
Somnia. 358. eorum genera. Allegorica & Theorematica 353
de Sort.bus. 371. Sortes Homericæ, Virgilianæ &c. ibid.
Σπερμολόγος 291
Σπλάγχνα, *the entrails, also the heart, hence* ἀνὴρ εὐσπλαγχνος, ἀσπλαγχνος, & σπλάγχνα ἔλεος 59
Spolia *triefold* Σκῦλα, *from the dead.* Δάφνεα *from the living* 33
Στεφανηφόρος Ἀθηνῶν dictus Constantin. M. post. μεγας δὲξ 33
Στήλαι, σηλιτευτικὸς λόγος 97
Συγκλητος 102
Συγκομιδὴ καὶ ἐκκομιδὴ 243
Σύμβολον 40
Σύμβολα ἐνύδια occursacula 369
Συμβολαίαν δίκη 140
Συγχλήσεις ὀμμάτων 241
Συμποσίαρχος, συμποσιν ἐπιμελητὴς, δημοσιλήπτωρ 106
Συνήγορεῖ, ὅτι μοῖρα συνηγεῖν 116
Συνθήκης δίκη 140
Συνῶν συνουσία differt à γάμος 190
Superstitio Athenienſium 47
De Supplicibus Sacris 274
Σωτῆρων ἱερεὺς dictus *Antigonus* 27

T

Ταραντῖνον, ταραντὸς ἔνδυμα 161
Tempus sumendi cibos 291
Τεσσακόσιοι dicti πεντακισχίλιοι quare 31. Τεσσαρακοντάρχαι 60.61.
Templa Ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀντέρωτος 151
Τέλος pro γάμος, πλεῖστος pro γῆμαι, hinc μετατέλεια 170
Τηλίκιλοι quasi δηλίκιλοι 156
Τηλύγετος ὑὸς quis secundū Pollucē 122
Thalia dea unde 37
Θεὸς δόλιος. 37. Ἀγοραῖος 45
Θεὸς ἔγγυος 38

Θεῶν

Θεῶν χειροτονίαι cur 46
Θύρα ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοί 158
Θῆτες, Thetes unde 19
θήκη, σορός, πέλας, *a Coffin* 263
Θέατρον à θεὸς, quia in Theatris deos celebrabant 93
Θεατρῶναι, Θεωρικόν, οἱ ἐπὶ Θεωρικῷ 92
Θρησκεύειν à θρᾶκία 36
Θρόνων ἔξαρχος 250
Θρέπτρα, Θρεπτήρια, τροφεῖα, 231
Θώρηξ poculum Θωρήξασθαι inebriari 321
Τοσοῦτον χ' ὅσον ἀπὸ διονυσίων 66
Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ δικαστήριον, λύκου δικαίου 34
Tragœdia, 80. vocavit eam *Solon* ἀνωφελῆ ψῳδολογίαν, 12. unde per, à τρύξ vel τρίγ 83
Τείχωνον δικαστήριον 133
Τελα παλαίσματα 127
Tribunalia varia 133
Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope, ſub Cliſthene decem, poſtea duodecim 21
Τριτὺς τριτυαρχ 21
Trophæa, 330. τρόπαια *Jupiter from can the enemies* τρέπωδα, ibid.
Τριλογία, χ' τριφαλογία 89
Τυμβευθῆναι dicuntur qui à lupis &c. devorantur Iin. vocantur τάφοι ἔμψυχοι 272
Τύμβ à τύφθαι 1. κρύπτ 259
Tumuli 264
Τύφανν τυφανὶς 28
Τυμπανίζειν, τυμπανισμὸς, τύμπανα 224

V

Venus duplex ἐφαρία & πάνδημ deus dicitur 150 ibid.
ὑπομνᾶν *to fine ones ſelfe* 120
ὑπωμοσία 285
ὖς quaſi δύς quare 285
Vulcanus 42
Uxor, quando ducenda 185. quæ in eâ requirantur 198

W

Wedding daies three, 1. προαύλια. 2. Αὐλία. 3. ἐπαύλια

X

Xenocrates, quantæ fidei vir 116
ξενία 312. ξενοδοχεῖον primum fundavit Hircanus 313
ξένοι, 110. ξενῶνες 112
Ἔφεσις, *an information*, delatio

Φ

Φάσις *an information*, delatio
Φῆμαι, σφημεῖν, δυσφημεῖν 366
Phœnomoe Pythia prima 338
Φιλοτησία 302
Φρατρία unde 21
Φρατερικὰ δεῖπνα ibid.
Φρυκτοὶ, Φρυκτωρεῖν 327
Φυλλοβολεῖν, φυλλοβολία 269
Φίλτρον 162

X

Χαρῆναι, ἀπὸ τῦ χαρῆναι cur 252
Χειροτονία 153
Χοαὶ ὑδρυτήριοι 267
Χύτλοσις 210
Χυτρίζειν, pro ἐπίθεσθαι 218
Χοίροναι. *Porcellaines, pebles* 117

Ψ

ψῳδολακπίαι δίκη. 145. ψευδαγγελίας ψήφισμα, προβούλευμα 99
ψηφολεκτία δολίοις κρίσαι 118
ψίθυρος Cupido 252. 155

Z

Ζευγῖται 19
Ζεὺς Ἐλπλευ &c. 39
Z.H.Θ.I. 64
Ζώνη duplex 183

Ω. ω.

Ὠα & ὑπηρῶα ab ovali figurâ 200